PALESTINE EXPLORATION QUARTERLY

Embodying the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the *Bulletin* of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem

1950 & 1951

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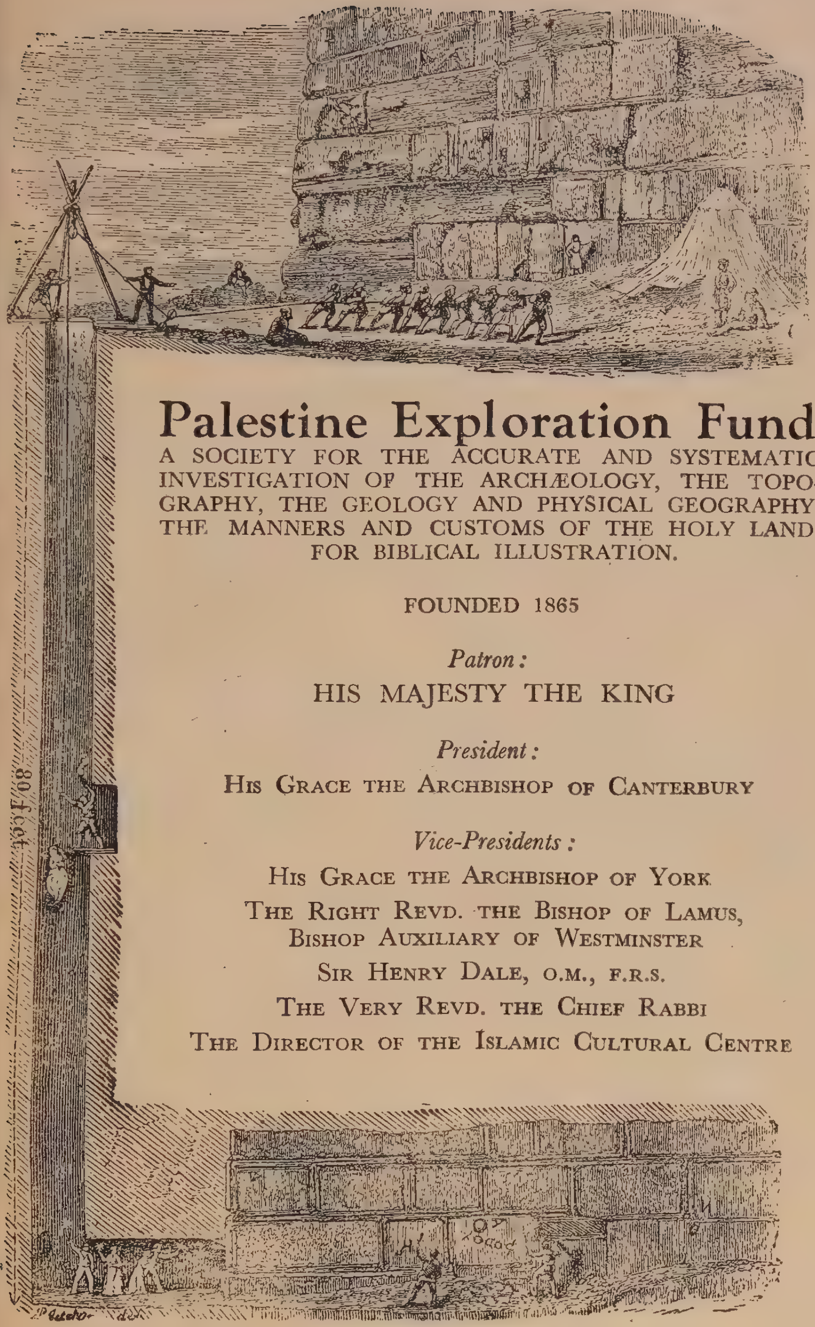

Palestine Exploration Fund

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THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS

THE Ain Feshkha scrolls still continue to attract much public attention and to engage scholars in friendly controversy concerning their age. Professor Albright, Dr. Diringer, Professor Sukenik, and Dr. Birnbaum have all lectured to crowded audiences at the Rooms of the Fund on various aspects of these remarkable documents, and there has been on view at the British Museum a specimen of one of the scrolls brought over by Professor Sukenik from Jerusalem. One of the objects of this well-known Jewish scholar's visit to this country has been to raise a fund to finance the further exploration of the Dead Sea region in the hope of discovering fresh scroll-bearing caves. In the course of a conversation Professor Sukenik said that, although audiences all over the country had shown the greatest interest in the discoveries, the financial response had been disappointing. The reasons, perhaps, are not far to seek. Meanwhile, the controversy concerning the date of the scrolls continues with unabated vigour. In the July issue of the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Professor Albright and Professor Millar Burrows defend the pre-Christian date, while Professor Lacheman and Professor Zeitlin continue to regard the find as a hoax. In the October, 1949, issue of the same journal, Professor G. R. Driver presents the arguments against a pre-Christian date. One wonders if anything but a Bath-Qol will decide the dispute !

Those scholars who were in charge of the American Schools of Oriental Research at Jerusalem at the time of the discovery of the scrolls have felt that some of the statements in Mr. Lankester Harding's article in our last issue were unfair to them. We print in this issue of the P.E.Q. a letter from Professor Millar Burrows explaining the difficult position in which they found themselves at that disturbed period. We are sure that no one could suspect Professor Millar Burrows and his colleagues of having acted in bad faith, and everyone will be glad that the documents are in safe keeping and are in process of being published with all the care and skill which American scholarship can provide.

In the December, 1949, issue of the *Biblical Archæologist* there appears an article of great interest by Dr. Diringer on the Royal Jar-handle Stamps which have been discovered in various excavations in Palestine, and especially in the late Mr. Starkey's excavation of Lachish. Incidentally, the article bears witness to the valuable work being done at the Institute of Archæology in the University of London. Dr. Diringer is in agreement with Professor Albright's opinion that the stamps belong to the period of the Judæan monarchy lying between the reign of Hezekiah and the fall of Jerusalem in Zedekiah's reign. Dr. Diringer discusses in an illuminating way the various historical, topographical, and epigraphic problems which are raised by these interesting archæological finds.

Professor Claude Schaeffer, the excavator of Ras Shamra, has recently made public a discovery of considerable epigraphic importance. This is a tablet, 15 cm. by 5 cm., which he dates in the 14th century B.C., containing a cuneiform alphabet of 30 letters. The importance of the discovery lies, not in the alphabet itself, which is the already well-known Ras Shamra (Ugarit) alphabet, but in the fact that it is the earliest alphabetic tablet yet known, and in the order of the signs. The order follows that of the Phœnician alphabet; three of the non-Phœnician signs are added at the end, and the remaining five are inserted at various points of the list. The fact that the order follows that of the Phœnician alphabet would seem to point indubitably to the priority of the Phœnician and to the dependence of the Ugarit alphabet upon the Phœnician. It would therefore appear to call in question some opinions expressed in recent authoritative books dealing with the origin of the alphabet.

In the recently published Festschrift for Professor Bertholet there is an interesting contribution by Professor H. H. Rowley dealing with the problem of the relation between the incident of the meeting of Abraham with Melchizedek in Gen. xiv, and the perplexing mention of Melchizedek in Ps. cx. Professor Rowley sees in the narrative of Gen. xiv an ætiological story in which Abraham recognizes the priesthood of the Jerusalem priest Melchizedek by offering tithes to him, and so legitimizes that priesthood for his descendants. The historical situation for the origin of the story is found in David's capture of Jerusalem, and it is suggested that Zadok was the priest of Jerusalem in pre-Davidic days, and was confirmed by David in his priesthood after the capture of the city. Professor Rowley regards Ps. cx as a coronation ritual psalm celebrating David's assumption of the kingship in Jerusalem, and representing David, in the liturgy, as addressing Zadok in the words which confirm to him and his descendants the Melchizedek priesthood. The suggestion removes many of the difficulties arising from this admittedly obscure psalm and is worthy of careful consideration.

In a recent issue of this journal a review appeared of the magnificent Westminster Historical Atlas of the Bible, an indispensable aid to Bible studies. Messrs. Thomas Nelson of New York have now published a handy volume of 44 pages entitled *A Remapping of the Bible World.* It contains 44 black and white maps covering the whole of the Bible, based on the most recent results of modern scholarship.

The Old Testament maps are edited by Professor H. G. May, and the New Testament maps by Professor C. C. McCown. The cartographer is Jerome S. Kates. The volume should be of great value to teachers and students.

In *Biblica*, 30, 4, Father Bea presents a useful text, with translation and notes, of the recently discovered Aramaic papyrus from Saqqara. This is one of the sources discussed by Professor Winton Thomas in his article on the Age of Jeremiah in the present issue of the P.E.Q.

In *Die Welt des Orients* for 1949 there is a valuable addition to the already numerous publications dealing with the Phœnician inscriptions from Kara Tepe. Professor Albrecht Alt there gives a transcription of the text, with translation and full notes. The same issue contains an interesting article by Professor Schaeder of Gottingen on the mysterious " Kantaeans " and their connection with the Manichaeans and Mandaeans who flourished in Mesopotamia in the Sassanid period. It is a pleasure to find once more the characteristic thoroughness of German scholarship making its contribution to the common stock of knowledge.

Two articles in the *Revue Biblique* for October, 1949, deal with the Ain Feshkha scrolls. The first is a transcription and translation by Dr. Bauchet of the first column of the *Sectarian Document* based on the photograph published in BASOR, III, October, 1948. Dr. Bauchet remarks at the close of his article : " It would be premature to attempt an interpretation of this page. We wish merely to give some idea of the style of this valuable document." The second is a long and important article by R. P. R. de Vaux, who assisted Mr. Lankester Harding in the excavation of the Ain Feshkha cave, dealing with the discoveries, and giving transcriptions and translations, carefully annotated, of the most important of the fragments. Père de Vaux estimates that there must have been at least 150 manuscript rolls deposited in the cave. He rejects Professor Sukenik's view that the cave was a Genizah, also the suggestion that the concealed rolls had constituted a library or archives, and prefers the view that some persecuted religious community had hidden its collection of sacred documents in this remote cave for safety. He argues convincingly that the jars fix the date of the deposit and of the latest documents which it contains. He adopts the position that none of the manuscripts is later than the beginning of the first century B.C. It is interesting to note that Père de Vaux dates the fragment of Leviticus which is written in the archaic script not later than the fourth century B.C. He also advances the opinion that Lev. xvii-xxvi, commonly known as the Holiness Code, existed independently before Ezekiel and before the Exile.

The *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 69, 4, contains an interesting and amusing article by Professor Kramer which throws new light upon the state and methods of education in Sumer about 2000 B.C. It gives the text and translation of a Sumerian tablet describing a day in the life of a young Sumerian scribe. His day included several canings by members of the school staff for various misdemeanours, and ended with a judicious invitation to the head-teacher to a banquet at the home of the pupil's father. The teacher was so mellowed by the feast that he concluded the proceedings by blessing the aspiring scribe in highly complimentary terms. The tablet is a very human document and provides a touch of unexpected gaiety to enliven the somewhat oppressive atmosphere of cuneiform studies.

STANLEY ARTHUR COOK: 1873-1949

THE long association of Professor S. A. Cook with the Palestine Exploration Fund, as a member of its Executive Committee and as the Editor of its journal from 1902 to 1932, makes it fitting that we should here offer a tribute to his memory and publish a brief estimate of his immense services to Semitic archæology and to Old Testament scholarship. After a distinguished career at Cambridge, at the age of 23 he became a member of the editorial staff of the *Encyclopædia Biblica.* He was joint editor of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, to which he contributed valuable chapters on Hebrew history and religion. He contributed many important articles to the 14th edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* in the same field, and the pages of the QUARTERLY JOURNAL of the Palestine Exploration Fund, during his thirty years' tenure of the editorship, contain a great number of illuminating articles from his pen on varied aspects of Old Testament archæology. Towards the latter years of his life he turned his mind to the broader implications of Old Testament scholarship, and produced a number of volumes containing his mature conclusions concerning the spiritual continuity of the Old and New Testaments, and their permanent value for religious life and thought. Of these the best known are *The Old Testament—A Re-interpretation*, and *The* "*Truth*" *in the Bible.* The bibliography of his contributions to English and foreign biblical and theological periodicals would occupy many pages of this journal. His written work, though sometimes obscure in style, was always marked by originality, and a characteristic combination of sound judgment and bold conjecture. He was one of the founder-members of the Society for Old Testament Studies, of which he was President in 1925, and in which he took the greatest interest to the end of his life. It may be said with certainty that he is to be numbered with the historic company of great Old Testament scholars. The shades of A. B. Davidson, W. Robertson Smith and S. R. Driver will welcome him as their peer.

S. H. H.

THE AGE OF JEREMIAH IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERY[1]

By D. Winton Thomas

"Jeremiah," writes A. C. Welch, "appeared at a period, about the external and internal conditions of which we are exceptionally well informed"[2]—and again, "We know much more about him and his time than we do about any of the other prophets."[3] Welch wrote these words in 1928. In the twenty or so years that have passed since then, new archæological material has become available which has, in a remarkable and impressive way, thrown fresh light upon the age of Jeremiah. Some of it is already fairly well known. Some of it is less well known. It is, I think, worth while to bring some of the more important material together in a single paper. I propose therefore to give an account of three new sources of knowledge which have come to us from Palestine, Babylon and Egypt, to point out some of the problems to which they give rise, and to indicate their significance for the study of the Jeremian age.

First in importance are the inscribed ostraca from Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish), one of the most ancient cities of Palestine. These ostraca, eighteen of which were discovered in 1935, and another three in 1938, are by now well known. It is not necessary for me, therefore, to give any long account of them. I will content myself with reminding you that they may be dated probably in the year 589-588 B.C., *i.e.*, just a little before the end of Judah's political existence at the hands of Nebuchadrezzar, and shortly before Jeremiah's prophetic career, so far as we can judge, was nearing its close. With this reminder, I proceed to indicate briefly the contribution which these documents make to our study of the Jeremian age. In the first place, it may be said quite definitely that these ostraca make no contribution whatever to our knowledge of religion in Palestine in the time of Jeremiah. Very striking though the frequent use of the Tetragrammaton in these ostraca is, no religious significance can be properly read into its use. Its occurrence is restricted to the set phrase חי יהוה "as YHWH lives," and to formulæ used in greeting, such as "may YHWH cause my lord to hear tidings of peace." Nor again can anything be deduced from the many personal names which end in יהו. Attempts to see in them a reflection of the success of Josiah's reforms have not proved convincing. It is true that there is a mention of an anonymous prophet—one of the many prophets of the time. All we know of him, however, is that he passes on a letter from one person to another—a purely secular function. In the second place, so far as our study of the history of the Jeremian age is concerned, the ostraca enable us to do no more than catch a glimpse of the contemporary scene. Whether behind the phrase לרפת ידי "to weaken the hands" (Ostracon VI. 6) is to be seen a reflection of the activity of the appeasement party which sympathised with Jeremiah in his policy towards the Babylonians, must remain uncertain in view of the state of the text at this point. We learn of an expedition under the command of Konyahu ben Elnathan—who is called שר הצבא—which went to Egypt, but the object of the expedition remains obscure. Several suggestions have been made, but perhaps we should say no more than that it is quite intelligible that, with Zedekiah and his court so strongly pro-Egyptian, a military officer of high rank should have been sent at this time to Egypt to seek help against the Babylonians. As for the general military situation in Judah at this time, we may perhaps judge from the ostraca that it had not yet become critical. At any rate it was possible, when these ostraca were written, to maintain communication by letter between Jerusalem and Lachish ; and men seem to move freely between Lachish and the capital. There is no mention of the Babylonians in the ostraca, though the suggestion has been made by De Vaux[1] that the word כשׂדם is to be read in Ostracon VI. 6. This proposed reading is, however, most uncertain. The system of fire-signals in operation at the time (Ostracon IV. 10ff), with a code by which the recipient understood the signals given, links up with Jeremiah vi. 1, for the word for fire-signals, *i.e.* the signal installation, is the same both in the ostracon and in the Jeremiah passage, *viz.* משׂאת. The word for the code is אתת "signs," which H. Tur-Sinai (Torczyner)[2] has recently explained as the "miracles" wrought by the prophet Uriah! In Jeremiah xxxiv. 7 it is said that Lachish and Azekah alone of the fenced cities of Judah remained to be overrun by the Babylonians. From the fact that the writer of Ostracon IV says he cannot see the fire-signals of Azekah, it has sometimes been supposed that Azekah had already at this time fallen into the hands of the Babylonians. It is, however, possible to think of other reasons, climatic or mechanical, for example, which might explain why the signals of Azekah were not visible to the writer. In Ostracon XX 1 there is a phrase בתשעית, which is usually translated "in the ninth year," and is taken by some to refer to the ninth year of Zedekiah, it being in this year that Nebuchadrezzar, according to Jeremiah xxxix 1, besieged Jerusalem. Whether this odd Hebrew phrase does in fact refer to Zedekiah's ninth year is better left an open question for the moment. If then these ostraca make no contribution in the sphere of religion, and only a limited one in the sphere of history, what is it that justifies the belief that these documents from the Jeremian age are so valuable a discovery—indeed, until the discovery of the now famous Dead Sea scrolls, they could properly be regarded as the most valuable discovery ever made in the history of the biblical archæology of Palestine. In reply, we may point especially to three things. First, these ostraca provide us for the first time with definite proof as to the kind of script Judaeans in the Jeremian age were using for ordinary, every day writing. Baruch, when he wrote at Jeremiah's dictation (Jer. xxxvi), will have used this same cursive form of the ancient Hebrew script ; and so too will Jeremiah and the witnesses on the occasion of the subscribing of the deed relating to the purchase of Hanameel's field (Jer. xxxii, 6ff). In our study of the book of Jeremiah—indeed of a large part of the O.T.—we have to imagine the biblical text written originally in the script employed by the scribes who wrote these ostraca. And we may learn a good deal for our textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible from features which these ostraca display, such as the use of the word-divider, the splitting of words at the end of a line, scribal errors, the spelling out in full of the Tetragrammaton, the use of *scriptio defectiva* and the frequent change of person. Secondly, these ostraca are of such great importance because they preserve specimens of the Hebrew language currently used in Judah at the time of Jeremiah. The language is, to all intents and purposes, but with some differences, the classical Hebrew we know from the O.T. ; and if it aligns itself more especially with any Biblical book, it is with the book of Jeremiah, and, we may add, with the language of the Deuteronomists. It is at this point that the ostraca make their greatest contribution. For the language we find in use in the ostraca confirms what has long been suspected, namely, that our Hebrew Bible bears upon it the stamp of the dialect of Judah current round about the sixth century B.C. The importance of this new accession of pre-Massoretic Hebrew from Lachish can hardly be exaggerated. With it, and with other sixth century Hebrew available from the O.T., we now have a tolerably large body of Hebrew datable in the age of Jeremiah. Thirdly, these ostraca have a special importance for the study of Hebrew proper names, especially for the study of names in the Jeremian period, of which they are typical. It is interesting to note that in a single chapter of Jeremiah (xxxvi), at least six of the twenty or so names met with in the ostraca occur.

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[1] A paper read at the Jubilee Meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study on 4 January, 1950.

[2] *Jeremiah : His Time and His Work*, p. v.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 235.

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[1] *Revue Biblique*, April, 1939, p. 197 f.

[2] *Jew. Quarterly Rev.*, xxxix, 1949, pp. 365-377.

Before we leave Lachish, it may be pointed out that from the seals contemporary with the ostraca, discovered there, we may learn something of importance for our understanding of the Jeremian age. First, the clay, bearing the impression of seals, shows clearly in several cases the imprint of the grain of the papyrus to which the seal had been affixed. We now know for certain that round about 600 B.C. papyrus was being commonly used as writing material in Judah. When Baruch wrote at Jeremiah's dictation, it is probable that he wrote on papyrus. It has sometimes been argued that Baruch used papyrus on the ground that, when Jehoiakim burnt the scroll (Jer. xxxvi, 22ff), the smell of burning leather or parchment would have been intolerable. This argument is advanced even in so up-to-date a book as R. H. Pfeiffer's *Introduction to the O.T.* (1948, p. 72), and O. Eissfeldt feels obliged to remark that this argument is not compelling, for " in such moments one generally takes little account of the olfactory nerves " (*Einleitung in das A.T.*, 1934, p. 695 f). The seals from Lachish provide us with a better argument than this for the belief that the material used by Baruch was papyrus.

So much for the ostraca and seals from Lachish and the contribution they make to our understanding of the age of Jeremiah. We turn now to Babylon. In 1925 the fourth edition of Robert Koldewey's *Das wieder erstehende Babylon* appeared. In it he describes his discovery of a vaulted room situated in the north east corner of Nebuchadrezzar's southern citadel beneath the ground floor level of the palace. This room was divided into fourteen smaller rooms, running along the two sides of a passage-way, and was surrounded by a strong wall. Round this somewhat irregular square ran a small corridor, whose north and east sides were for the most part formed by the citadel wall, while on the west and south there were more small rooms. In one of the rooms on the south numerous tablets were discovered. Some of these were published by E. F. Weidner[1] in 1939, and their contents are of extreme interest and importance, for they provide for the first time an extra-biblical source of information concerning the captivity of Jehoiachin, of which we read in II Kings xxiv, 11ff—the king on whom Jeremiah pronounced judgment in the well known passage xxii, 20ff.

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[1] *Jojachin, König von Juda, in babylonischen Keilschrifttexten*, in *Mélanges Syriens offerts à Monsieur R. Dussaud*, ii, 1939, pp. 923-935.

These tablets belong to the period 595/4—570/69 B.C., and in them we read of supplies dealt out to Jehoiachin and his fellow prisoners. Weidner's text C, which is the best preserved, is translated by him :

> ½ (*PI*) [*i.e.*, a Babylonian liquid measure, no doubt of oil] *for Jakû-kînu, the son of the king of Jakudu*
>
> 2½ (*SILA*) [*i.e.*, a Babylonian dry measure] *for the five sons of the king of Jakudu at the hands of Qana' a* [*ma*].

It strikes us at once that, in the first half of the text, Jehoiachin is called " the son of the king " of Judah—he is called *mâr šarri*, not *šarru*. It is possible that this is a mere scribal error, as in the second half of the text, and in the other tablets, he is called *šarru* " king." Weidner recognises this possibility, but he suggests that the designation *mâr šarri* " son of the king " may have been deliberately chosen, the Babylonians regarding Zedekiah as the legitimate king of Judah. Another problem is the mention of the five sons of Jehoiachin. In Jeremiah xxii. 30, it will be remembered, it is said, in reference to Jehoiachin, " Write ye this man childless," that is, register him in the roll of citizens as such. Perhaps we are to understand this to mean that, as the verse goes on to say, " no man of his seed shall prosper, sitting upon the throne of David, and ruling any more in Judah." No child of Jehoiachin did in fact succeed to the throne. It may be, however, that the Hebrew word ערירי, usually translated " childless," does not bear this meaning, but rather the meaning which G. R. Driver,[1] with support from the Septuagint and from Arabic, gives to it, namely " outlawed." Weidner suggests that those who are here called sons of Jehoiachin may have been in fact his brothers, that is, sons of Jehoiakim. According to II Kings xxiv. 15, Jehoiachin's mother and wives accompanied him into captivity. Neither are mentioned in the tablets.

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[1] *The Expository Times*, lvi, September, 1945, p. 318.

Three further points of interest may be mentioned in connection with these tablets. Koldewey believed that the small rooms in the southern citadel of Nebuchadrezzar were store-rooms for supplies of all kinds. Weidner, however, more colourfully, suggests that they were the rooms in which Jehoiachin and his fellow prisoners were kept. Secondly, the names of captive Jews which occur in one of the tablets contain two which are of special interest to us. They are *Salamyâma* and *Samakuyâma*—in Hebrew dress שלמיה[ו] and סמכיה. The latter I have already mentioned as occurring in the Lachish ostraca. The former too has been discovered, with some plausibility, by W. F. Albright[1] in Ostracon ix. 7, and four different men bear this name in the book of Jeremiah. Thirdly, prisoners belonging to other peoples are also mentioned in the tablets. Thus we meet with Philistines from Ashkelon " with the sons of their king Aga '." Was this king of Ashkelon, Weidner asks, dead ? Or was he left on his throne, a vassal to Babylon, his sons being taken as hostages to Babylon ? I shall have occasion to refer to this king again later on. Then we have Phœnicians from Tyre, Byblos and Arvad—Weidner argues from the comparatively large amount of oil they received that they were especially esteemed at court for their artistic skill—and Elamites, Medes and Persians. There are, further, Egyptians, three of whom bear the names Niku (Necho), Pusamiski (Psammetichus) and Uḫpara, in which the name Apries is to be seen. We are reminded that these were the names borne by the three Pharaohs contemporary with Nebuchadrezzar. They must have been fairly common names. And finally, there were Greeks and Lydians. Weidner is probably right in seeing in this mixed multitude of peoples prisoners and exiles for the most part, who received favourable treatment at the hands of the Babylonians on account of their special capacities—whether they were employed as carpenters,

[1] *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 82 (1941), p. 23.

sailors, singers, or ape-keepers. In II Kings xxiv. 14 it is said that Nebuchadrezzar carried away "all the craftsmen and smiths; none remained, save the poorest sort of the people of the land." Weidner suggests that some of the craftsmen of these mixed peoples mentioned in the tablets, such as the Phœnicians, the Philistines and the Ionians, may be identical with the craftsmen and smiths carried away by Nebuchadrezzar. In Jerusalem, in higher circles, they had been held in high esteem, and in Babylon they were able to turn to good account the art they brought with them from Jerusalem. We may leave this new material from Babylon with a glance at the last few verses of the book of Jeremiah (lii. 31ff). In 562 B.C. Evil-Merodach brought Jehoiachin out of prison. He "spake kindly unto him, and set his throne above the throne of the kings that were with him in Babylon, and changed his prison garments, and he did continually eat bread before him all the days of his life. And for his diet, there was a continual diet given him of the king of Babylon, every day a portion until the day of his death, all the days of his life." Jehoiachin henceforward eats his rations, not in the cells, but at the king's table.

From Babylon we turn to Egypt. In 1942 there was discovered at Saqqarah a letter written in Aramaic upon papyrus, belonging to the Jeremian period. It was first published by A. Dupont-Sommer[1] in 1948, and in the same year H. L. Ginsberg[2] published his own reading and translation of it. The papyrus consists of nine lines—probably its original number—but only the right hand half of it has been preserved, so that we have no endings of the lines. The half which has been preserved has suffered damage—in line 5 only one word can be read. But from what is legible it is possible to gain some idea of its contents.

The sender is a king named Adon (אדן), and he addresses his letter to the Pharaoh whose vassal he is—he calls himself

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[1] *Semitica* i, 1948, pp. 43-68.

[2] *Bull. of the Amer. Schools of Or. Res.*, 111 (1948), pp. 24-27. See further A. Bea, *Biblica*, xxx, 1949, pp. 514-516; he follows Ginsberg's reading and interpretation.

עבדך "thy servant." The Pharaoh is addressed as מרא מלכן "lord of kings" (or, as Ginsberg prefers, "kingdoms," *i.e.*, Upper and Lower Egypt). There follows the wish that the gods—their names are missing—of "heaven and earth" (שמיא וארקא) and "Baal-shemain god" (בעלשמין אלה[א]) will sustain the Pharaoh in his sovereignty "firm as the days of heaven" (כיומי שמין אמין). Then we read—"[the armies] of the king of Babylon have come, they have reached Aphek" (זי מלך בבל אתו מטׄאׄו אפק). This line (4) continues with two letters only that are legible—וש—which may conceal the name of another place which the Babylonians have reached, or may be the remains of a verb in continuation of the two preceding verbs, *e.g.*, ושריו "and they have begun," as read by Ginsberg. The badly preserved line 5 contains only the word אחזו "they have taken," doubtless in reference to some place or places which have fallen into Babylonian hands. In line 7 Adon requests the Pharaoh "to send an army to deliver me" (למשלח חיל להצלותי)—"do not," he writes, "forsake me" (אל תשבקני). In line 8 he reminds the Pharaoh—"thy servant has preserved his (*i.e.*, Pharaoh's) goods," unless we are to understand, as Ginsberg does, the phrase (וטבתה עבדך נצר) as meaning "thy servant remembers his (*i.e.*, Pharaoh's) kindness." In the last line the words פחה במתא are taken by Dupont-Sommer to mean "the governor with death"—he supplies the words "they have punished," *i.e.*, "[they have punished] the governor with death." It should be noted, however, that Ginsberg takes מתא here in the sense of the Accadian *mātu* "land," translating "[he will set up] a governor in the land." The meaning attached to מתא here is important, as we shall see in a moment. The words וספר שיני in this last line are translated by Dupont-Sommer "and the secretary they have changed." Ginsberg, however, leaves them untranslated—probably wisely.

In this papyrus we have then an appeal from a Semitic king to the Pharaoh for help against the advancing armies of the king of Babylon, in language reminiscent of the appeals sent by Palestine princelings to the Pharaoh in the Amarna age in the face of the invading Habiru. A number o problems arise in connection with the study of it. For ou present purpose we address ourselves to two questions only— first, the question of the date of the papyrus and the event to which it may be related, and secondly, what was the kingdom of Adon? With regard to the date of the papyrus Dupont-Sommer rightly points out that the title “ king o Babylon ” implies the period of the neo-Babylonian dynasty and that the choice of a king here lies between Nabopolassar the founder of the dynasty in 625 B.C., and Nebuchadrezzar his son and successor (604-562 B.C.). Dupont-Sommer believes that it is the latter, Nebuchadrezzar, who is the king o Babylon referred to in the papyrus, and he argues that the events described in the papyrus are to be related to events which are narrated by Berosus, who, Dupont-Sommer thinks, drew upon a good source for his information. Berosus' narrative, which is preserved in Josephus (*Antiq.* X. II, 1), informs us that Nabopolassar, hearing of the revolt of the governor whom he had set over Egypt, Coele-Syria, and Phoenicia, and himself not being able to bear any more the hardship of war, put at the head of some parts of his army Nebuchadrezzar, who was still but a youth, and sent him against the rebel. Nebuchadrezzar, we are then told, came to grips with the rebel, conquered him in battle, and replaced the country under his dominion. The governor who, according to this account of Berosus, was installed by the Babylonians and rebelled, is, in the view of Dupont-Sommer, the same governor to whom this papyrus makes allusion. The events narrated by Berosus belong to the year 605 B.C., and if the papyrus relates to these events, it will belong to that year, and the Pharaoh in question will be Necho (609–593 B.C.).

As for the kingdom of Adon, the possibilities are many. It is possible, Dupont-Sommer thinks, that Adon may have been king over Moab, or Ammon, or Edom, but that it is more probable that he ruled over a Philistine city—Gaza, Ashkelon or Ashdod—or over a city of Phœnicia—Tyre, Sidon, Byblos or Arvad. Here it is interesting to observe now Ginsberg—or rather Albright, who made the suggestion to him—utilises the evidence of the tablets from Babylon, which we have been considering, to argue in favour of Ashkelon as the kingdom of Adon. These tablets, it may be recalled, tell us that there lived in Babylon "the sons of Aga', the king of Ashkelon." Ginsberg argues that, if there was a king in Ashkelon in 592 B.C., it can be safely inferred that there was a king there a decade earlier. This king he would identify with Adon. There can be no certainty here, however. And we are not helped to a decision by the occurrence in the letter of the place Aphek, the place which Adon says the Babylonians have reached. For there is an Aphek ten miles north of Lydda (Josh. xii, 18), which we might think of on the supposition that Adon was a Philistine king. And there is another Aphek which lies east of Byblos (Josh. xiii,4) which we might think of if we supposed Adon to be a Phœnician king.

We return to Dupont-Sommer's interpretation of the papyrus by reference to Berosus' account of a treacherous Babylonian governor whom Nebuchadrezzar was sent to quell. This interpretation, though very ably argued, is, however, not free from difficulty, as Dupont-Sommer himself is aware. There is, for example, a difficult chronological problem. Berosus, on the one hand, implies that in 605 B.C. Syria was under Babylonian domination, whereas Jeremiah xlvi. 2 is usually taken to imply that it was under Egyptian domination. Into this complicated question I cannot now enter. I wish rather to suggest that, chronological considerations apart, the identification of the governor of the papyrus with the rebellious governor to whom Berosus alludes is a precarious one, resting largely as it does upon Dupont-Sommer's translation of line 9—"[they have punished] the governor with death, and the secretary they have changed." If Dupont-Sommer's translation is correct, the proposed identification, again chronological considerations apart, might appear plausible. But is his translation of במתא by "with death" correct? Ginsberg's translation, it will be recalled, is different—"[he will set up] a governor in the land." Such words, we may suppose, would be natural o the part of someone who is afraid that a governor may b set up in place of an already existing system of governmen In other words, may not Adon here be expressing his fea that, if the Pharaoh does not come to his rescue, his thron will be lost to him, and a Babylonian governor will be se up in his place? On this supposition, we have to think, no of a punitive expedition by the Babylonians which resulte in the defeat and death of a rebellious governor—not o an event which has already taken place—but of contingency which the writer of the letter fears may happe in the future. If there be anything in this interpretation it cuts at the roots of the connection which Dupont-Somme finds between the contents of the papyrus and the accoun in Berosus, and there would in consequence be no reaso for assigning the papyrus to the year 605 B.C.

Much more likely is the view expressed by J. Bright,[1] wh sees in this papyrus a footnote to II Kings xxiii. f. A fe well known facts may be recalled. As the power of Assyri declined, Egypt, under Pharaoh Necho, reasserted hersel On his way to a Mesopotamian campaign, the Pharaoh me and slew King Josiah at Megiddo in 608 B.C., and on hi return from the east, he took with him as his prisoner t Egypt Josiah's successor, Jehoahaz, leaving as a vassal o the throne of Judah King Jehoiakim. Egypt's days were however, numbered; for with Nebuchadrezzar's decisiv defeat of Necho at Carchemish in 605 B.C., world powe passed to the Babylonians. After two or three years spent i settling affairs at home, Nebuchadrezzar and his armie returned to Palestine, and Jehoiakim at once transferre his allegiance to him. But did Adon likewise submit Bright suggests that he did not—that, relying on Egypt, h resisted and appealed to Necho for help. The date of th papyrus would thus be 603–2 B.C. If, alternatively, w suppose that Adon did submit to Nebuchadrezzar, only t rebel later—as did Jehoiakim three years after his submission —the papyrus could be dated 600–598 B.C. We may however, agree with Bright when he remarks that the letter suggests the plea of a vassal of Egypt who fears the Babylonian advance, rather than a rebel against Babylon asking for Egyptian help.

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[1] *The Biblical Archaeologist*, xii, 1949, pp. 46-52.

Yet another possibility is to view this papyrus against the background of the bid made by the Pharaoh Apries, the Hophra of the O.T., for empire in Asia. The facts here again are familiar. He took Sidon and Tyre, which then proceeded to stir up revolt in Judah. Zedekiah of Judah yielded to the war-party and looked to Apries for help. In 587 B.C. Nebuchadrezzar appeared in northern Syria, with his headquarters at Riblah on the Orontes, which lies north of Aphek. Apries retired to Egypt after an unsuccessful attempt to relieve the Babylonian siege of Jerusalem. Phœnicia soon received the attentions of Nebuchadrezzar, and the long siege of Tyre began. Is it possible that it was at this time that Adon, of Phœnicia, sent to the Pharaoh (Apries) for help against the Babylonians? If so, the papyrus would have to be dated c. 587 B.C., and it would thus be an almost exact contemporary of the Lachish ostraca. There was a king of Tyre at this time—Ittobaal III (589–574 B.C.), who resisted the Babylonian armies for thirteen years. Adon may have been king of a neighbouring Phœnician state, who likewise resisted.

As we look back over this new material from Palestine, Babylon and Egypt, which has come to light up the age of Jeremiah, we may have many thoughts about it. I must restrict myself to a few brief observations. First, we may observe that the contribution which this new material makes is to the cultural, historical and political background of the times, and that it makes no contribution at all to our study of contemporary religion. This gap is, to some slight extent at any rate, filled by an Aramaic papyrus, discovered, with others, in 1944, at Hermopolis West (Tuna el-Gebal in Middle Egypt). According to Murad Kamil,[1] there is nothing to show that it is certainly of Jewish origin. Though it dates from the fifth century B.C., and is thus later than the

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[1] *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, xxviii, 1947, pp. 235-257.

Jeremian period, it has a special interest for us in that in it there is a reference, among other deities, to " the queen of heaven," called by her Aramaic name מלכת שמין. She is Ishtar, whose worship was, as Jeremiah tells us, popular in his day in Judah (vii. 18) and among Jews resident in Egypt (xliv. 1, 17ff). Secondly, we may observe how these documents may be utilised to illuminate each other. It will be remembered how Ginsberg uses the evidence of the tablets from Babylon to support his suggestion that Adon of the Saqqarah papyrus was king of Ashkelon ; and again it will be remembered how some of the proper names which occur in those tablets link up with proper names which occur in the Lachish ostraca. Thirdly, it may be pointed out that whereas the contact between the Lachish ostraca and the book of Jeremiah is of an indirect kind, as is the contact between the Saqqarah papyrus and the O.T., the contact between the tablets from Babylon and the narrative concerning Jehoiachin's captivity in II Kings xxiv. 11ff is of a very different kind. Here we may speak of direct contact between archæological evidence and the O.T. narrative—what Millar Burrows[2] calls " an extraordinary instance of specific confirmation." Direct contact between archæological evidence and the O.T. narrative is, of course, rare. These tablets from Babylon fall into this rare category. And lastly, this new evidence reminds us once again how difficult is the interpretation of ancient documents, in what uncertainty our study of them sometimes leaves us. We may recall the tantalizing disappearance in the Saqqarah papyrus of the name of Adon's kingdom, the nameless Pharaoh to whom the letter was sent, the uncertainty of date, and the doubtful situation of Aphek.

The documents with which we have been dealing do not exhaust the material which recent archæological discovery has placed at our disposal for our study of the Jeremian age. Much more could be said. We might go on to consider, for example, the seal from Tell el-Nasbeh, belonging to the beginning of the sixth century B.C., with its beautifully cut

[2] *What mean these stones ?* 1941, p. 281.

representation of a cock, and bearing the name of Jaazaniah; and we might wonder whether this Jaazaniah is to be dentified with either of the men who are so called in the book of Jeremiah. Or again, we might consider the private houses excavated at Tell Beit Mirsim, which show how people lived in a small town in the time of Jeremiah. Or again, to return to Lachish, the jar handles found there, bearing both private and royal stamps upon them, which were in use during and before the reign of Zedekiah, the last king of Judah, might claim our attention, as might also the ancient Hebrew weights discovered there, belonging to the end of the seventh and the beginning of the sixth century. Or again, we might ponder the discovery of the first five letters of the Hebrew alphabet in their familiar order on the steps of the palace at Lachish, in which, if they are a schoolboy's scribbling, we may perhaps catch a faint glimpse into Hebrew education in the time of Jeremiah. But there is not time for everything. In conclusion, I would say that I hope that this survey of the most important material, though it has necessarily had to be brief, may have been adequate enough to exonerate me from the charge of having used exaggerated language when I said, at the beginning of this paper, that this new material has in a remarkable and impressive way thrown fresh light upon the age of Jeremiah.

THE EARLY HEBREW BOOK-HAND

By David Diringer

In spite of the scantiness of material and the absence o long inscriptions, such as the victory-stelae found even in ancient Moab, the history of the early Hebrew writing i being gradually unfolded in a marvellous manner. When we look back on the old theories which made the squar Hebrew of our own times an original alphabet, unchange since the times of Moses, and on the equally unscientifi criticism which denied that alphabetic writing was practise in Palestine before the Persian period, we become awar of the rapid advance of knowledge in this field. First cam some inscribed seals, then the Siloam inscription was accidentally discovered, then the Gezer Calendar was unearthed then came the Samaria ostraca, and finally the Lachish Letters. To these were added hundreds of short inscription such as seals, weights, measures, jar-handle stamps, and so on. Thus, the early Hebrew script can now be followed for about one thousand years, from the Gezer Calenda onwards.

With the increase of the number of the documents, ou knowledge of early Hebrew epigraphy steadily increases Now we can trace in the early Hebrew alphabet the gradual change which has differentiated all known alphabets It would now be impossible to mistake, within certain limits the nationality or the date of important inscriptions. The discovery by Mr. G. Lankester Harding of a few fragments written in early Hebrew script, presents a new contribution to early Hebrew epigraphy.

Early Hebrew writing, as the script of any civilized nation, may be sub-divided into two main classes, (1) the inscriptions written in monumental style, and (2) the documents written in cursive form of letters. The chief consideration of early Hebrew monumental writing was, as in any ther monumental style of writing, permanence, beauty, ncluding proportion and evenness, while the chief consideraion of the cursive script was, and always is, speed and tility.

The Gezer Calendar (Plate I), probably belonging to the tenth century B.C., may be considered as the earliest extant document written in early Hebrew script, in a kind of rude monumental style : the majority of its letters are still nearly identical with those of contemporary Phœnician inscriptions, but the letters *kaph*, *mem*, *nun*, and *pe* are already marked by certain characteristics of the early Hebrew writing. The most important early Hebrew inscription—and actually the only early Hebrew inscription in the narrow sense of the word—is the Siloam inscription (Plate II), of about 700 B.C. Its script may be considered as the classical early Hebrew monumental script. Mention may be made of the numerous seals and jar-handle stamps, bearing short inscriptions in monumental style, some of which may be conveniently compared with the Siloam inscription (Plate III). The alphabet of the Jewish coins and the script of the early Samaritan inscriptions may be considered as the last stages of the early Hebrew monumental style.

The main characteristics of the early Hebrew monumental style, especially when compared with the Phœnician script, are as follows. The letters, particularly the *zayin* and the *ṣade*, are more squat, wider and shorter, also more accurate. The main stems of the letters *kaph*, *lamed*, *mem*, *nun*, *pe*, and sometimes also *beth*, are curved or rounded at the bottom. In the *ḥeth* the vertical strokes go beyond the horizontal ones. In the *he*, the upper horizontal stroke goes beyond the vertical, and in some inscriptions, there are four horizontal strokes instead of three. *Zayin* and *ṣade* curve back at the end of the lower horizontal stroke. There are often some beautiful ligatures. It is to be assumed, however, that these characteristics are mainly due to the influence of the cursive script.

In the Samaria ostraca (Plate IV), numbering about eighty, and in the Lachish Letters (Plate V), twenty-one in number, we have excellent examples of the early Hebrew cursive scripts, of the eighth century B.C. and of the early sixth century B.C., respectively. We now realize, as Professor Tur-Sinai (Torczyner) pointed out, that the Hebrew contemporaries of Jeremiah could write quickly and boldly, in an artistic flowing hand, with the loving penmanship of those who enjoy writing.

The discovery at Lachish of a few clay impressions having on their backs traces of the papyrus documents to which they had been attached, attests the use of this material for commercial and other purposes, but it is obvious that in the damp soil of Palestine no papyrus or parchment could be expected to endure to our time, except under quite special conditions, such as those under which the Dead Sea Scrolls have been preserved. This fact probably accounts, at least in part, for the paucity of the remains of inscriptional material of early Israel. Indeed, we may suppose that there were many early Hebrew written documents, but the vast majority of these, and particularly all literary works, were written upon papyrus or parchment. Incidental as well as direct confirmation of the frequent use of rolls of papyrus or parchment is found in the Bible : Ezekiel (ii, 9-10) probably refers to skin as writing material ; Jeremiah (xxxvi, 4-32) probably refers to papyrus ; and Isaiah (xxix, 11-12) may refer to either of these materials.

Following the discovery of the Lachish Letters, many scholars rightly emphasized the great importance of these ostraca for the study of the ancient script of the Hebrews. Professor D. Winton Thomas is probably right in his assertions[1] that Jeremiah himself would have used this script when he " subscribed the deed " relating to the purchase of " the field that was in Anathoth," and so too would the witnesses to the deed (Jeremiah xxxii, 6 ff.). May we assume that Professor Thomas is also right when he suggests, " It is in this script that Baruch will have written at Jeremiah's dictation ' upon a roll of a book ' (Jeremiah xxxvi, 4, cf. verse 32) " ? Lankester Harding's aforementioned discovery enables us to suggest that the early Hebrews had not only a monumental script and a current-hand, but also a book-hand. Such a book-hand must have been employed by the secretaries of the kings of Israel and of the prophets.

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[1] *The Prophet in the Lachish Ostraca*, London, 1946, p. 22.

It is common knowledge that any developed handwriting (such as Greek, or Latin, or English, or Italian) can be distinguished into two styles, (1) the carefully written literary hand or book-hand, in which works of literature were usually written by trained scribes; and (2) the ordinary current hand or running hand, common to all, employed for everyday life. Not that the two classes are always kept absolutely distinct; the books may be written in current hands when a work has been copied out by a scholar for private study. On the other hand, private letters or, especially, documents may be written by some experienced scribe as carefully in their way as the book-hands. These are exceptions, however. Generally speaking, the book-hand is a constrained form of handwriting with more concern for legibility, clearness and beauty, and the transformation of the forms of the letters is relatively slow, whereas the running or current hand naturally assumes a less exact formation; the forms of the letters change, often in the period of a generation, strokes are slurred, angles become more and more curved, letters are linked together, and thus grows up the natural hand of individuals.

The script of the Samaria ostraca (Plate IV) may be considered as the early Hebrew current hand in its initial stage: the letters are still as clear and legible as those of the monumental script. It may thus be assumed that in that period the current hand was also the book-hand. On the other hand, the script of the Lachish Letters (Plate V) represents a much more advanced stage of the current hand: it will suffice to draw the attention of the readers to the forms of *mem* or *nun*, *yodh* or *zayin*, or *kaph*, or *gimel*, or (perhaps in a lesser degree) of any other letter of the Lachish Letters.

Taking all this into due consideration, as well as the development of literature in ancient Israel, the aforementioned and other biblical passages, and the proofs o evidence of the wide use of papyrus or parchment, we mus assume that, at least from the early sixth century B.C onwards, there existed in early Israel a literary or book hand. As no remains of documents written in such a styl have hitherto come to light (for reasons which have alread been explained), nothing can be said about the developme of such a hand, but it is hardly to be assumed, as alread mentioned, that the original book-hand could have differe from the original current hand. Indeed, even for the late period not only mutual influences are to be expected, bu as in any other cultured nation, schools and other means o instruction must have exerted a sway in this direction.

The epoch-making discovery of Mr. G. Lankester Hardin consists of five small fragments, preserved by a rare strok of fortune, and found a year ago in the cave close to th N.-W. shores of the Dead Sea, where the already famou Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered. These fragments (Plate VI are from *Leviticus*, and as can be seen from the followin transliteration of the text, they astonishingly agree with MT except for *Lev.* xx, 21, where, significantly enough, *nidda* is written with *yodh* and not *waw*, thus supporting the *qeri* o the MT.

Of the five fragments, only fragments A, B, C are worth considering at length ; fragments D and E are not onl much smaller, but they are also worse preserved, and each of them only contains traces of about eight letters in tw lines.

Fragment A : five lines are preserved, but in the uppe one only two letters are clear, and there are traces of othe 8-10 letters ; the last line only contains traces of two letters Also the second line is badly preserved.

L. 1 : *Daleth* and *ʿayin* of *ha-yiddeʿonim* (*Lev.* xix, 31) are well preserved ; the preceding and following letter are only partly or very badly preserved.

L. 2 : *ʾlhykm* followed by a lacuna and by traces of a *mem* and another letter.

L. 3 : (best preserved) : *m'lhyk. 'ny.yhw. . . .*

L. 4 : *'t. . . k'zrh. mkm.*

L. 5 : traces of *waw* and of another letter (of *kamokha ? Lev.* xix, 34).

Fragment B : nine lines ; the upper line and the last one only contain a few clear letters.

L. 1 : *y's'w. . . .* (traces of a letter) (*Lev.* xx, 20).

L. 2 : *']hyw. ndh. hy'. . . . wt.*

L. 3 : *m.'t.kl.hqty. w't.kl.ṁ.*

L. 4 : *'.'tkm. h'rs. 'shr. 'ny.m.*

L. 5 : (faint traces of a few letters) : *tlkẇ* (some other traces ; last letter perhaps a *waw*).

L. 6 : *'l* (*Lev.* xx, 23).

Fragment C : perhaps eight lines, but of L. 1, 7 and 8 only illegible traces of four or five letters are preserved.

L. 2 : *ysr'l* (end of ch. xxi of *Lev.* : there is no letter-dividing point ; as there is ample space for two or three letters, of which there is not a trace, it may be assumed that the new chapter began either with a new line or, at least, after a blank space of more than two or three letters).

L. 3 : . . . *.bnyw.* (*Lev.* xxii, 2).

L. 4 : . . . *.'shr.*

L. 5 : this line is rather muddled ; there are traces of a letter (preceded by a lacuna and by traces of another letter), followed by a word-dividing dot ; the following letters may be read *'ysh.'shr*, and these two words agree with the MT. (*Lev.* xxii, 3), but the second, the third, and the last letter are not clear or regular, at least according to the photograph.

L. 6 : . . . *.bny.y* (?).

These fragments are written with ink on leather, and are unique from the palæographic point of view. The majority of the preserved letters are clear and neat, and according to the present writer, there can be no doubt tha this script represents a beautiful book-hand, the first of it kind ever discovered. It is interesting to note that th words are always separated by dots or short strokes, as i the Siloam inscription, the Samaria ostraca, the Lachis ostraca (not constant), some early Hebrew jar-handle stamp and seals, in Samaritan inscriptions, and in some (relativel few) Phœnician inscriptions. In the Mesha' Stone, th words are divided by dots and the clauses by strokes. In th present fragments, the end of chapter xxi of Leviticu (fragment C, 2) is marked (as mentioned) by a blank spac (and end of the line ?). The word-dividing dot also appear in early Aramaic inscriptions, but not in late Aramai documents, or in scripts of Aramaic origin, such as Palmyrene, Nabatæan, and particularly square Hebrew.

The dating of the present fragments is extremely difficult for two reasons. First there are no written documents with which in time and in style, they can properly be compared ; and secondly, we have probably to deal with a standardized literary hand, which was employed, perhaps only with slight alterations, for centuries. The latter reason may perhaps explain why some of the letters appear in what may seem an earlier form than that of the letters of the Lachish ostraca, written in a current hand of the sixth century B.C., and why, therefore, some scholars at first considered these fragments as at least contemporary with the Lachish documents.

Still, if we take into due consideration the main characteristics of the early Hebrew alphabet, we realize that some of these characteristics are rather accentuated in the Dead Sea fragments—for example, the squat, wide and short forms of *beth*. *mem*, *yodh*, *kaph*, *sade*, and *resh* ; the curved tails of *beth*, *kaph*, *mem*, and *nun* ; the wide heads and tails of *kaph* and *mem* ; the oblique form of *he* and *yodh*, and so on. Particularly the forms of *aleph*, *beth*, *yodh*, *kaph*, *mem*, *nun*, and *sade*, may be regarded as transitional between the classical early Hebrew script (of the Siloam inscription, for instance) and those of the Jewish coin-alphabet and the early Samaritan cript, due allowance being made, of course, for the different tyles of the several documents. A detailed examination of he single letters of the new fragments, induces us to assign hem, at least provisionally, to the late fourth or early hird century B.C., but their presence amongst the other Hebrew MSS. shows that the early Hebrew script was still known in the second century B.C., or even later, if this date s too high. The employment of the early Hebrew writing on the Jewish coins of the second and first centuries B.C., and of the first and second centuries A.D. is decisive evidence that the early Hebrew alphabet lingered on as late as the second century A.D., although in a rather stylized form.

The " lingering on " of the early Hebrew literary hand in the early Christian centuries is proved by literary sources (Origen and Jerome), according to which the Tetragrammaton was written in accurate manuscript in early Hebrew letters. The " Habakkuk Commentary " of the Dead Sea Scrolls provides evidence for this assertion. To be sure, the stylized and rather unusual forms of the letters (Plate VII, fig. 1) show that they were written by a scribe who had no experience of early Hebrew script. On the other hand, other square Hebrew fragments found in the same cave contain the word *'el* written in early Hebrew letters, of a non-stylized type (Plate VII, fig. 2) and probably in the same literary hand as the Leviticus fragments.

Finally, the various " marginal markings " on the Isaiah A and on the " Habakkuk Commentary " and " curious-looking symbols " of the Sectarian Document "[1] resemble in the majority of cases (*see* Fig. 1) early Hebrew characters

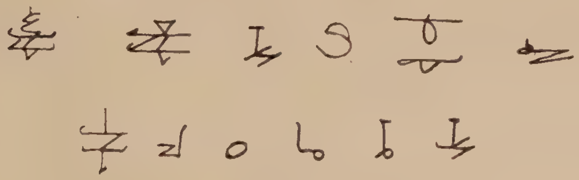

FIG. 1.
EARLY HEBREW SYMBOLS (?) IN SQUARE HEBREW MS.

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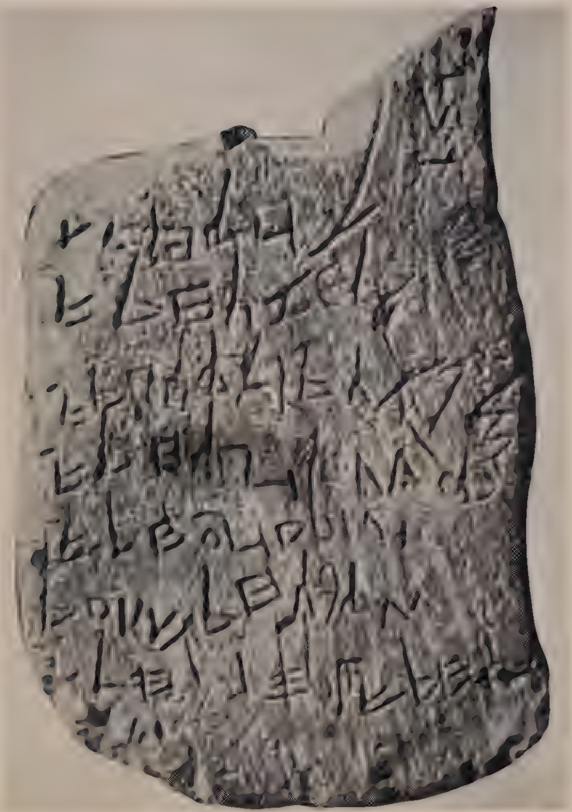
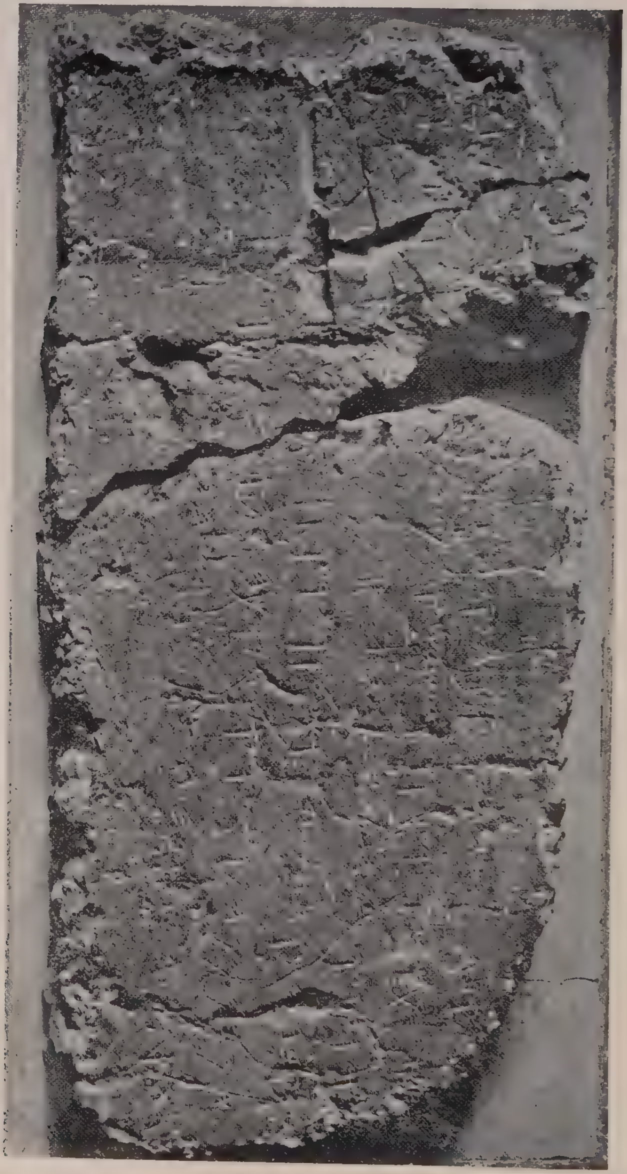
[1] J. C. Trever, B.A.S.O.R., no. 111, pp. 9, 12 and 14.

(such as *waw*, *zayin*, *'ayin*, *ṣade*, *samekh*, *taw*). If there is an connection between these symbols and the early Hebre alphabet, it would explain why in a Jewish tradition th character was also known as *notariqon* (*Tanchuma*, *Wayyeshe* ii, and *Pirke Eliezer*, xxxviii) ; and at the same time it woul provide further evidence for the prolonged life of the ear Hebrew alphabet, and especially of the early Hebrew boo hand.

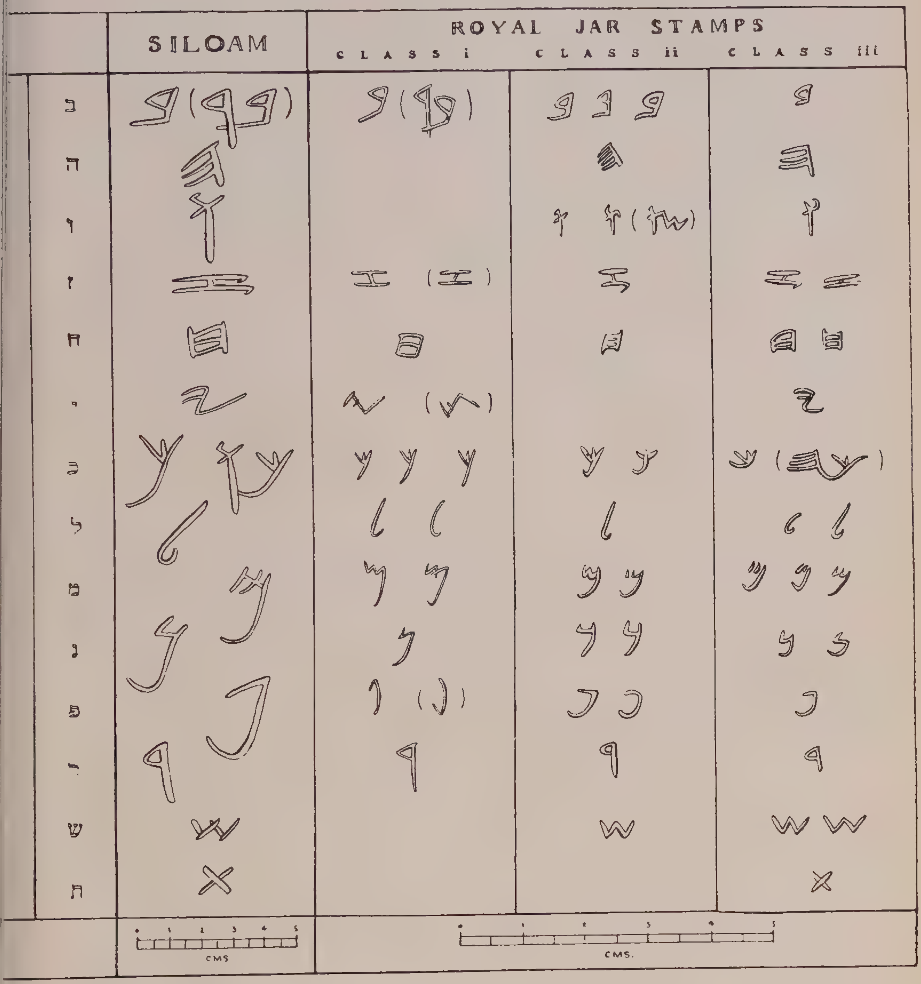
In an article (*Early Hebrew* versus *Square Hebrew*) in " Essa and Studies presented to Professor S. A. Cook," now in prin the present writer examines the reasons of the hostility of th Pharisees towards the early Hebrew character, which n only caused the end of this beautiful script, but also i oblivion.



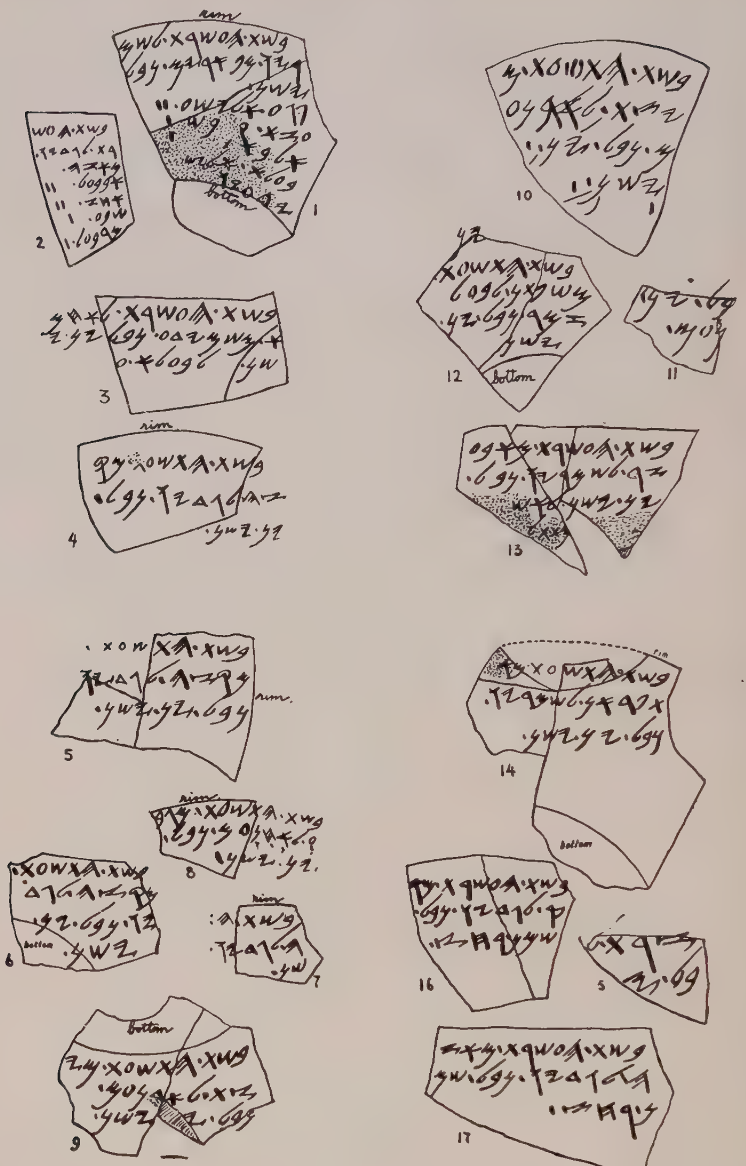
The Gezer Calendar.



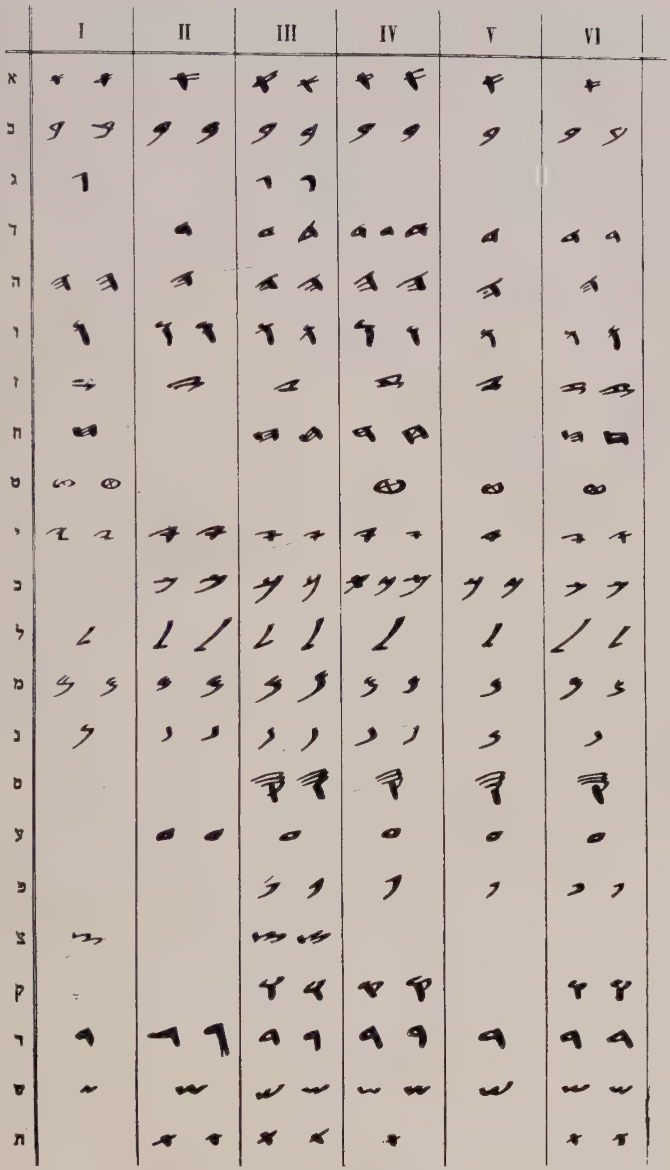
The Siloam Inscription.


SILOAM
ROYAL JAR STAMPS
CLASS i
CLASS ii
CLASS iii
ב
ה
ו
ז
ח
י
כ
ל
מ
נ
פ
ר
ש
ת
CMS
CMS.

DATING OF EARLY HEBREW MONUMENTAL SCRIPT.


rim
1
2
bottom
10
1
12
11
bottom
3
rim
4
13
5
rim
14
rim
bottom
8
rim
6
bottom
7
16
5
bottom
9
17

HEBREW CURSIVE SCRIPT—EARLY 8th CENTURY B.C. THE SAMARIA OSTRACA.


I
II
III
IV
V
VI
א
ב
ג
ד
ה
ו
ז
ח
ט
י
כ
ל
מ
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ס
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פ
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ק
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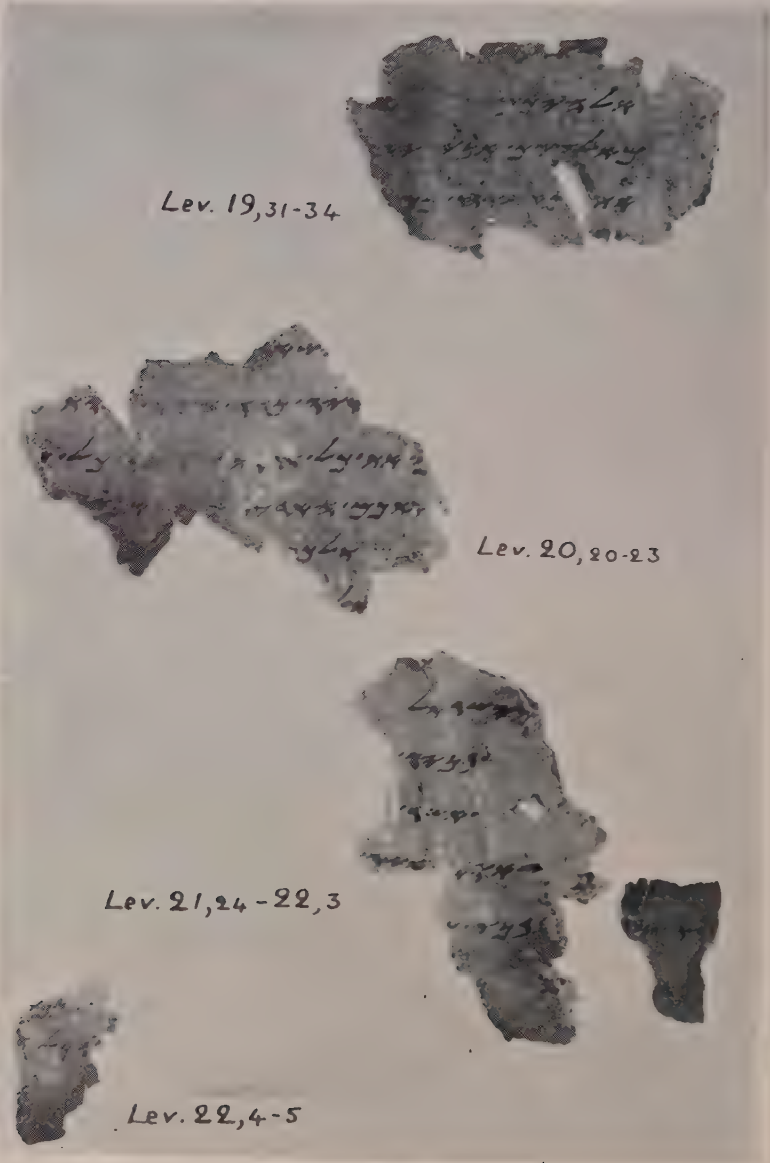
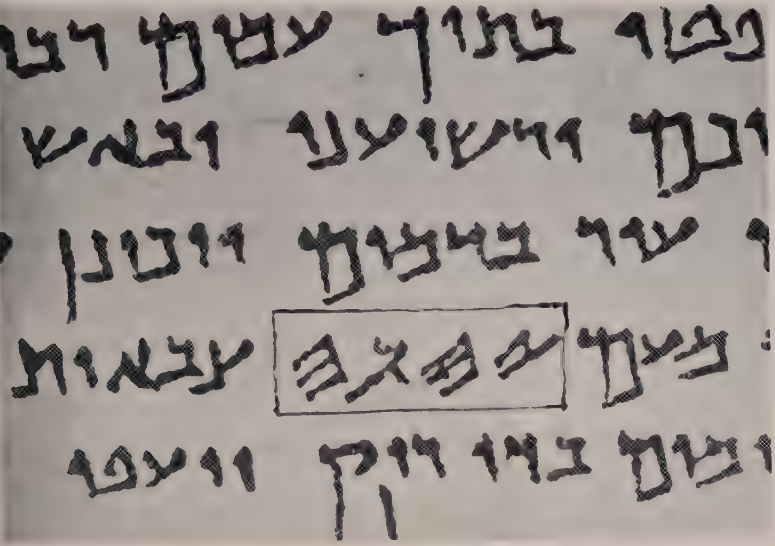
ש
ת

Hebrew cursive script from Lachish Letters I-VI.

PLATE


Lev. 19,31-34
Lev. 20,20-23
Lev. 21,24-22,3
Lev. 22,4-5

Fragments of Leviticus from the Ain Feskha cave.



פטו בתוך עמים רב

וכם ירשיענו ובאש

עיר בדמים ויכונן

מעם 𐤉𐤄𐤅𐤄 צבאות

ומים בדי ריק ייעפו

Fig. 1.
The Tetragrammaton in early Hebrew script in a square Hebrew MS.

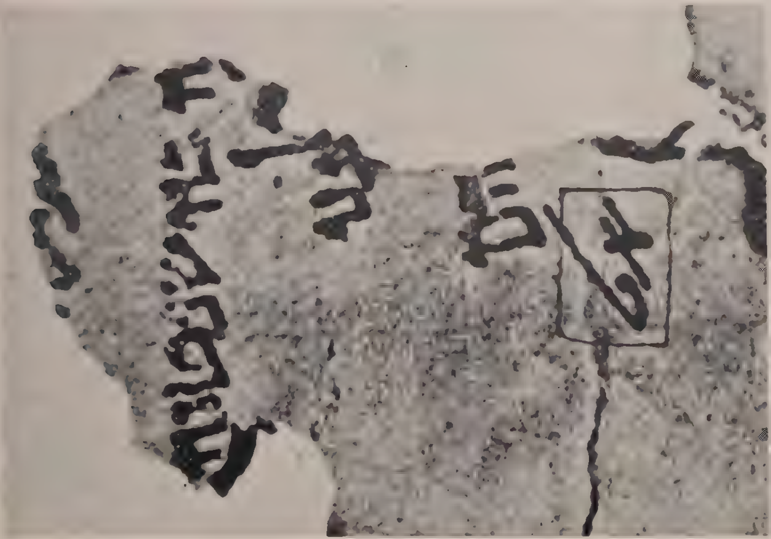
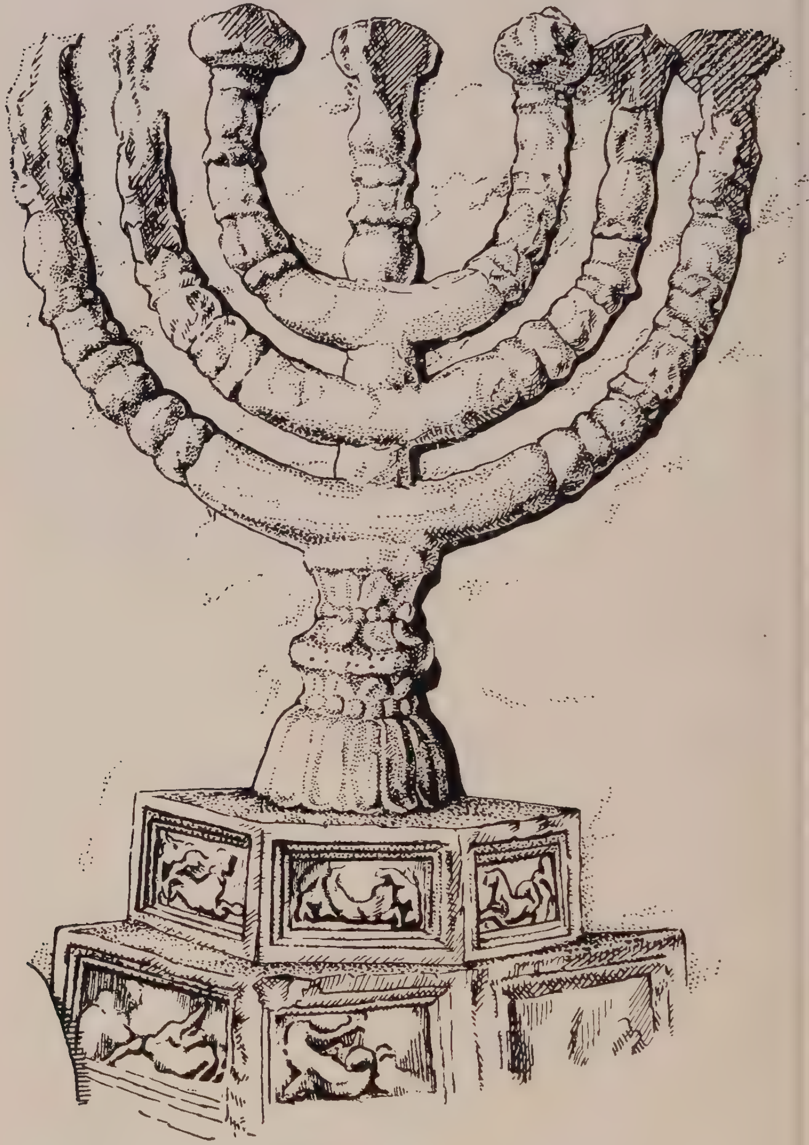


Fig. 2.
The word *'el* in early Hebrew literary hand in a square Hebrew MS.



The Menorah of the Arch of Titus.

THE MENORAH OF THE ARCH OF TITUS

By Maximilian Kon

Now that the State of Israel has proclaimed the Menorah of the Titus Arch its coat-of-arms, the question of its identity with the Menorah actually looted from the Jerusalem temple assumes an interest even beyond the intrinsic one.

To find the answer we must reconsider and re-evaluate the whole of the available evidence; for previous opinions have either disregarded all scientific considerations, or at any rate overlooked essential elements. The descriptive material found in the professional literature is either too old to be relied on as scientific, or lacking in analysis from the viewpoint of *architectural* decoration.

Until now, the authors dealing with the matter have drawn their arguments exclusively from Flavius and Jewish theological sources; they all conclude that the two Menoroth are not identical. They fail to analyse the composition of the Menorah's ornamentation; and as they wrongly interpret the descriptions in the historical sources, they cannot but conjure up a false image of the Temple Menorah. It would, therefore, seem essential to examine the Menorah's pictorial ornamentation, and to attack again the whole question of its architectonic structure.

But in order to outline our problem, we shall do well to sum up the conclusions arrived at by some of the anti-identicists.

Salomon Reinach, in his article in the " Revue des Études Juives " (xx, 1890, p. 83) says:

> " Les détails de la description, que nous passons, sont assez précis, pour qu'on ait pu restituer avec vraisemblance le candelabre que le rédacteur de l'Exode avait en vue. Les ornements consistaient en calices, en boutons et en fleurs, mais ni dans ce passage ni dans aucun autre,

> il n'est fait mention de figures d'animaux que l'on vo sculptées sur le pied du candelabre dans le bas-relief qu nous occupe. De pareilles sculptures étaient évidemmen incompatibles avec l'esprit de la loi mosaique et l'artiste romain les a indiquées, c'est parce qu'il n travaillait certainement pas d après l'original ".

and

> " C'est donc bien à tort qu'on a répandu des flo d'encre pour expliquer ou attenuer les différences d détail que présente le candelabre de l'arc, comparé ceux que la Bible et Josèphe nous ont décrits,"

to which, also with reference to Josephus Flavius, is added i the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*[1]

> " Curiously enough, Josephus in his account o Triumph of Titus, states that the workmanship (ἐρ΄γον of the candlestick was not the same as that which ha been in the temple."

W. Madden[2] states:

> " . . . and in all probability the foot was added b some Roman artist."

Without quoting further, I may say that in the whole o the material available to me I have not found any trace o a single thesis which concludes that the two Menoroth ar identical.

Now all these arguments are based on Flavius' statement and on a misunderstanding of these statements. The passag referred to (VII, 5, 5) runs:

τὸ δ'ἔργον ἐζὴλλακτο τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν χρῆσιν συνηθεὶας

" . . . . and the workmanship differed from that in ou (common daily) use ", which means, if anything, that th Temple Menorah was unlike those used by the Jews i everyday life. We could not expect anything else; accordin to the Talmud, there is a ritual prohibition against the cular use of menoroth shaped like the one in the Temple. gain: The seven-branched Menorah is a symbol of sacral adition, and derives from Mosaic law. Its artistic expression nd workmanship are foreign to the art of the period, be it oman, Hellenistic, or Jewish. Thus Flavius was obliged to escribe the Temple Menorah in full structural and ornaental detail. And naturally enough he stresses the difference om the type found in the Jewish household; the only type ith which his, mainly Gentile, readers, could be familiar.

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[1] *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, Candlestick, p. 44.

[2] F. W. Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, London, 1903, p. 102.

As for the fact that on the Titus arch the Menorah is iown with an animal ornament, and the claim that it ierefore offends against the decalogic prohibition of repreenting any living creature, and so cannot be a true picture f the Temple Menorah, modern archeology forces us to iange our views completely.[1] We cannot here go into etails, but we would point out that, as a matter of actual ict, Jewish plastic art of the period of the Jewish Temple *es* represent animals. The Talmudic dictum

(תוס, עבודה זרה, ה(ו) רבי אלעזר ב׳ רבי שמעין אומר
כל פרסופות חיו בירושלים חוץ פשל אדם [2]

eems pertinent in this connection. More than that: animal *otifs* are not only found in secular art, but in the very ecoration of liturgical implements:

> " . . . . on the latter (the postament of the laver) there were reliefs of a lion, a bull and an eagle " (Ant. VIII, 3, 6).

he golden table for the exhibition of the loaves (which was, ke the Menorah, amongst the most sacred of the Temple essels) stands on lions' feet: thus they are shown on the arch f Titus, and thus we visualize them from Flavius' description Antiq. III, 6, 6):

> " In the part (of the Temple) accessible to the priests he set up a table similar to the one seen at Delphi . . . ."
>
> " The lower part of the feet is delicately sculptured after the manner of Dorian bedsteads . . . . "

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[1] See E. L. Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece*. Kohl-atzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galiläa*.

[2] "All kinds of figures were in Jerusalem, except those of human beings."

And well we know the furniture of the archaic Gree standing on lion's claws.[1]

Even more impressive is the fact that the Talmud explicit allows the representation of one particular kind of dragon

”איזהו מן הדרקון אסור? ר' שמעון בן אלעזר אומר כל
שהציצין יוצאין מצוארו, אם היה חלק הרי זה מותר.“ [2]
(תוספתא', עבודה זרה, ה (ו)

And it is this very dragon which we find on the Menor shown on Titus' Arch.

All the arguments put forward by *S. Reinach* and othe fail in one respect; they do not analyze the Menora decorative style; and we should expect such an examinati to contribute much to our understanding of the problem hand. We intend to attempt the filling of this lacuna wi particular attention to the implications of the style of a parti ular part which seems to have been added in the course of tim

As shown on Titus' Arch, the Menorah consists of t main elements; the candelabrum proper and its postamen The latter is constructed from two polygonal slabs, decorat with a dragon ornament on each facet; it is solid enough protect the Menorah against all accidental movements.

The lower part of the candelabrum itself is formed by bunch of long leaves pointing downwards, bound by a stri of pearls. It is crowned by a second somewhat shorter bun pointing upwards, separated from the first by a sort of Tor and serving as a connecting *motif* leading to the shaft a branches. Together, the two bunches form the structu basis of the Menorah proper.

Immediately from the leaves rises the central sh forming, with three arms on each side, the actual candelabru The lower, horizontal, part of the arms is rounded and ba of all ornament; the vertical part is decorated with bal leaves and pomegranates. Arms and shaft are crowned w ound broad beads. Judging by the height of the figures arrying it, we may estimate the total height at about four feet.

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[1] ". . . . in the archaic Greek examples the characteristic featu are the same, namely, legs terminating in animal feet." *Ancient furnit Greek, Etruscan and Roman*, by Gizela M. A. Richter.

[2] " Which kind of dragon is forbidden? R. Simeon b. Eleazar sai Every kind which has spikes coming out of its neck; but if its neck smooth it is allowed."

The ornament of the Menorah's basis and its profile ction are closely akin to the bases of Persian architecture bout 600 B.C.[1]

The combination of the ornamental *motifs* and the orkmanship of the shaft and arms, however, continue a radition which goes back to Syro-Phoenician art at the time f the First Temple.[2]

Totally different, again, is the style of polygonal postament on which the Menorah stands. The form is extremely are, both in architecture and in decorative art. For that ery reason, the correspondence between our postament and he bases of two columns in the Apollonian temple at Didymium seems highly important.[3] This enormous strucure, in diperal tetrastyle in antis was begun in the 4th entury B.C., but its central portal was not completed until he 2nd century B.C.; and in front of this building we find wo of its ten columns based on dodecagons, with a framed assette on each facet, containing a figure in *haut-relief*. The nfluence of this new temple on the Hellenistic architecture f its time—and its time saw the reconstruction of the Menorah by Judas Maccabaeus—is found in various parts of contemporaneous buildings.[1] If we consider that th postament of the Menorah as depicted on Titus' Arch identical with these column bases, except for the human tors of the *haut-relief* which has been replaced by a dragon tors we find it difficult not to conclude that the Menorah Jerusalem had a postament made under the influence of th then modern temple of Didymium.

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[1] See Marcel Dieulafoy, *L'art antique de Perse*, Vol. I, p. 83, Vol. III, . 75.
Fergusson, J., *The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored.*
Sir Bannister Fletcher, *A History of Architecture.*
Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Persia.*

[2] An interesting comparison of Phoenician candelabra with a smooth haft and an upper part decorated with balls and leaves is given by Albright in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 1942, No. 83 n article " Two cressets from Marisa and the Pillars of Jakim and Boaz ".

One of those mentioned, Nr. 8, with a base of leaves, a smooth shaft nd a top decorated with a bunch of balls is described as " . . . . an xample of Phoenician or Israelite work in ivory from the ninth century."

See also a Sardinian gem, featuring a candelabrum with balls and lowers similar to the workmanship of the Menora in the *History of Art n Phoenicia*, by G. Perrot and Ch. Chipiez, Vol. II, p. 412.

[3] See E. Pontemoli and B. Haussoullier, *Didymes*, Paris, 1904, p. 122. Wiegand, T., Milet, *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen.*

And so we must assume that the Roman sculptor, i representing an extremely detailed Menorah of a typ totally alien to the Roman art of his time, was minutel copying an original which he actually saw. The scrupulou precision of the Roman artist in reproducing detail, particu larly where a Roman victory is concerned, is well know from all extant relics of Roman architecture. Otherwise w should have to suppose that, for some artist's whim know only to himself, our sculptor had replaced the actua postament of the Menorah by one inspired by the Didymia temple; if this were true, why then did he replace the huma torso of the Didymian temple by a smooth-necked drago —the only dragon permitted by Jewish law? We may b forgiven if we consider this assumption somewhat improbable

Finally we should point out that Jewish tradition onl fixes the form of the Menorah's shaft and arms, but has n ruling in regard to the basis or postament.

To sum up:—The candelabrum of the Menora represented by the *bas-relief* of the triumphal arch of Titu shows all the signs of being closely related to Phoenicia candlesticks of the 9th Century B.C.; the lower part—th basis with its leaves—is a modernisation dating from th 6th century B.C. and indicates a direct connection with th return of the Jews from the Babylonian Exile; the postament modelled on a column base of the Didymian Temple and dating from the second century B.C., is contemporaneous with th rededication of the Temple by Judas Maccabaeus. On th other hand, we cannot find any trace of Roman influenc in the Menorah on the Arch of Titus, and thus we canno escape the conclusion that it is a faithful representation of th Menorah from the Temple.

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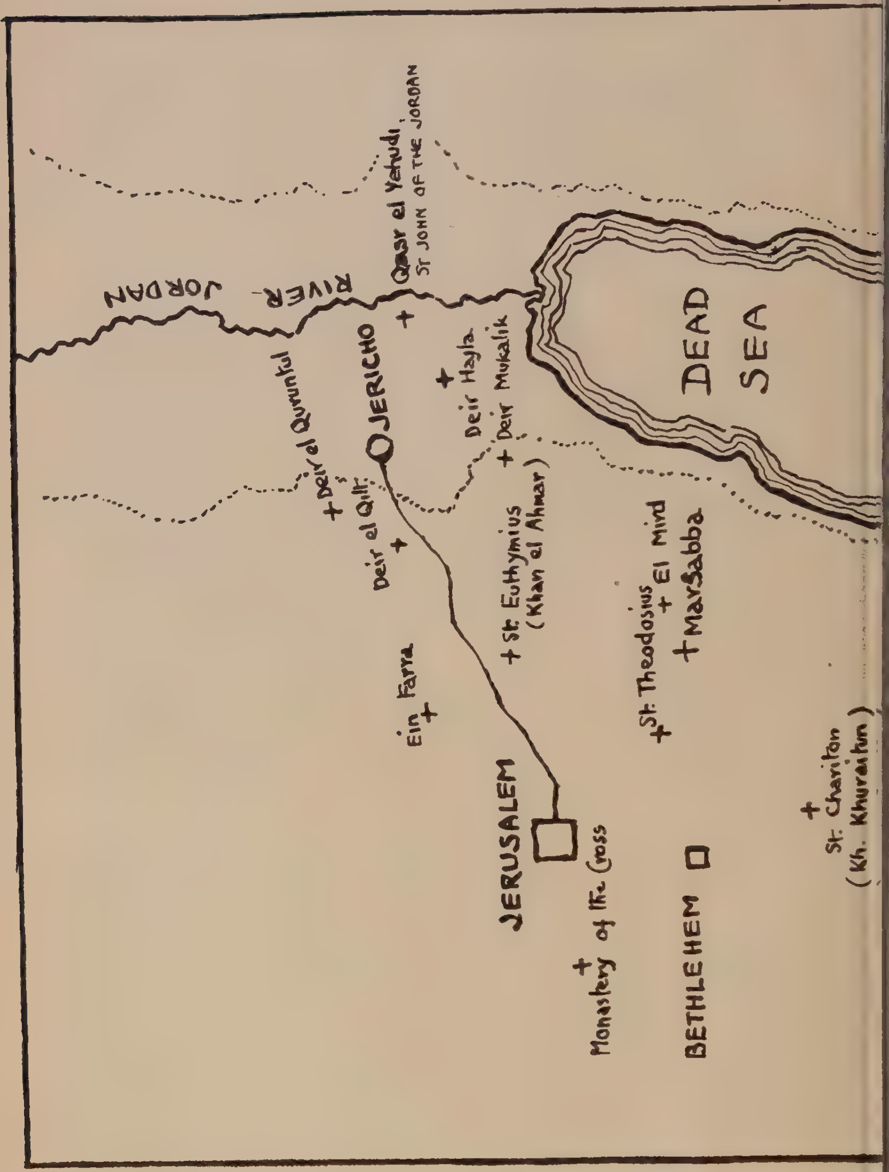
[1] See also T. Fyfe, *Hellenistic Architecture.*

MEDIAEVAL MONASTERIES OF EASTERN PALESTINE

By H. T. Norris

THERE are two desert areas in Palestine as we know it
day. The first region consists of the Negeb, roughly from
ersheba to Aqaba, the second a strip of wilderness cut
numerous wadis lying to the East of the highlands of
maria and Judaea. Apart from resemblances of a
ographical and geological nature these two regions in
zantine times, and, in certain instances, later periods, were
ntres of asceticism and hermitages. Research has shown
at the rainfall of the Negeb has altered little in the
ristian era, so that monastic buildings in that region
ied extensively on wells and the little rainfall they could
llect. They were essentially desert monasteries often
ned to towns such as Khalasa, or on the other hand were
f-contained institutions with military posts. The monas-
ies and hermitages of the Jordan valley and East Judaea
e in some respects different. They are situated in a region
wilderness not, in the strictest sense, desert, either near to
ertile district, the Jordan and its tributaries, or along wadis
ere abundant water could collect after autumn and winter
ns, or in districts covered by a thin carpet of cultivation
ring spring. In any case none of the hermitages were very
from towns of considerable size such as Bethlehem,
usalem, or even Jericho. This Lower Jordan valley was
ideal district in which to build hermitages. The Essenes
d had their own communities in the Ghor or low-lying
in near the Jordan, and the area had a reputation for
ctity and meditation. Wadi Kelt was identified with the
ook Kerith and the feeding of Elijah by the ravens. Jebel
runtul was looked upon as the site of the Mount of
mptation and numerous sites on the bank of the Jordan
oke of hallowed connections and associations both with


RIVER-JORDAN
Qasr el Yehudi,
ST JOHN OF THE JORDAN
JERICHO
Deir el Quruntul
Deir Hajla
Deir Mukalik
DEAD SEA
Deir el Qilt
St. Euthymius
(Khan el Ahmar)
St. Theodosius
El Mird
Mar Saba
Ein Farra
JERUSALEM
Monastery of the Cross
BETHLEHEM
St. Chariton
(Kh. Khureitun)

Monastery Sites in Eastern Palestine

e Old and the New Testaments. Added to this was the ographical setting of wild, barbaric and naked magnificence d a temperature mild or hot during the year, and where e sun would shine when Jerusalem lay blanketed under ow. During the time of Justinian, through the Crusader eriod and even later, records exist of restoration, rebuild- g, or abandonment of these monasteries, sometimes due invasion, often deliberate abandonment on the part of e monks themselves. Such monasteries as Mar Sabba r example (Plate XI) gained a reputation comparable ith St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai, others, less mous, received attention from the Byzantine emperors or om religious dignitaries at Jerusalem. Procopius, for xample, records the construction of a cistern at Qasr el ehud as the work of Justinian. At a later date mention is ade of monasteries which are now non-existent, St. erasmius in the 12th Century for example.

The architectural construction of these existing monasteries lls into three types—(*a*) a square or rectangular fort-like lan found in the Jordan valley and connected with a style be seen near Jerusalem and in other parts of Palestine. utliers of this style exist in the Judaean desert area at t. Theodosius, three miles to the East of Beit Sahur and at han el-Ahmar two miles to the south of the Jerusalem- ericho road. The monastery of St. Catherine on Mount inai is in this style.

(*b*) A perpendicular style built into the sides of wadis nd precipices. Mar Sabba, Deir Kuruntul, Deir-el-Kelt, eir Kureitun are in this category. Examples of this fantastic rm of architecture can be seen in a few places in Syria. o known form of ancient architecture in Palestine seems o provide an origin. Parallels can no doubt be drawn with onastic structures in Greece at Meteora and Mount Athos nd in Asia Minor.

(*c*) A series of hermitages and caves of both type (*a*) nd (*b*) at Ein Farra, El Mird and Wadi Mukalik. The ave type may assist in finding an explanation for type (*b*).

Type (*a*) monastery is found in level districts such as th
area to the east of Bethlehem and to the south east
Jericho on the west bank of the Jordan. The monastery
Deir Hajla, formerly Russian and now Greek has been almo
completely rebuilt. A few broken pillars and general lay-ou
of the plan is all that remains of the original constructio
which was probably mediaeval. Travellers of the la
century before the restoration tell of wall paintings of th
12th and 13th century. Of some interest is Qasr el-Yehu
lying to the east and nearer the Jordan. Theodora (530 A.D.
states that the original monastery was built by the Empero
Anastasius and it was known as St. John of the Jorda
Much of the building was destroyed by an earthquake i
the 12th century, it was restored but fell into ruin before th
15th century. Save for Byzantine capitals the historica
remains are mostly of the Crusading period, the buildin
preserving the windowless walls and quadrilateral shape
the earlier building. The main chapel consists of a barr
vault orientated west to east. This style of monast
construction is similar to the Monastery of the Cross outsid
Jerusalem whose origin may date back to the 4th centur
The latter was inhabited by the Georgians who may hav
been responsible for its construction. The main features
this style are high, thick walls supported by massive buttresse
enclosing a courtyard containing cells and domed churc
(Plate X, fig. 1). The idea that the building should be
ortress as well as a church seems obvious. Khan al-Ahmar
an Armenian foundation, differs little from the abov
except that its position, in a small plain which is slightl
cultivated even today, suggests former fertility in the vicinit
of the building. There are remains of Byzantine cistern
but in view of the pointed archway it is to be doubte
whether the present remains are older than the Crusadin
period. The remains contain tunnel-vaulted (storage
cellars of rag work and the building is built of rudely square
stones, with considerable use of limestone (Plate XII). I
this respect the building is really an outlier of Jerusalem an
Bethlehem district, as the predominant building stone use

n the construction of type (*b*) is mostly soft oolite limestone uarried at Khirbet el-Summah, four miles north of Jericho.

Type (*b*) monastery can be seen at Deir el-Kelt and Mar abba. The latter, though by far the most important in the whole area, was restored by the Russians in 1840. It contains monks from all over the Orthodox world. Settlements of monks existed here from the 5th Century from the time of St. Euthymius and St. Sabba himself. According o tradition, " he tried to raise a Church elsewhere, but the Mother of God appeared to him in a dream, and said to him: ' Why dost thou wander in strange parts? Go back, and thou shalt see fire issuing from a cave, and that shall be o thee a sign where to build '." The whole eastern side of the canyon or ravine where the monastery is constructed is iddled with anchorites' caves. The edifice was constructed on the West side for several reasons, shelter, nearness to Bethlehem and the two original cells. The chapel-cell of St. Sabba the Cappadocian and St. John of Damascus in the main dates from the 14th Century. There is an icon depicting the latter in company with a pet lion. Several of the frescoes may be older. One of the Virgin shows affinity with crusading work at Bethlehem. The gradual volution of the whole monastery (and its style shows several periods of construction) appears to be an original nucleus of anchorites' caves on both sides of the gorge and the eventual decision to build the church adjoining two caves on the west side, the original cell of Sabba the Cappadocian and later around a cavern to the north and at a lower level to the latter. It is in this cavern church that the relics of monks slain at the time of the Chosroes invasion are preserved. Later, in the Middle Ages and the Crusading period, out-buildings and church were added and flanking watch towers and protective walls. The church, 70 feet by 30 feet with an apse and dome, though almost new, undoubtedly retains the plan of the original, the interior covered with wo tiers of frescoes. Nearby is the so-called Palm tree of St. Sabba. This solitary tree of undoubted age however may be only another example of identification of holy sites with trees, a common feature in Palestine, and may be c later date. An interesting parallel can be seen in the mosqu at Deir es-Sheikh, west of Ein Karim where a solitary pal tree grows in the courtyard of the mosque. Mar Sabba wa one of the chief centres of asceticism in Palestine. It wa here that *Barlaam and Josaphat* was translated into Greek i the 6th Century, in the text of which we are told that here “a profitable story brought from the furthest part c Ethiopia, called India, by John the monk of the monaster of St. Saba or St. Sabat.”

At Khirbet Kureitun, east of Bethlehem, are remains c the monastery of St. Cheriton dating from the 12th Century There are remains of a tower, vaults and cisterns, rudel squared stones and rag-work tunnel-vaulting. The reservoi 64 feet by 47 feet, a fine construction, has masonry of har limestone. Khan el-Ahmar is so akin to this in many these features that a date similar to it is likely.

Both monastic constructions at Wadi Kelt and Jeb Kuruntul are of interest for the purposes of dating. De el-Kelt is situated on the sides of a precipice and consists a series of cells, a hall supported on vaults and a chap perched close to the rock. This latter is of interest as it not orientated, being in line 49° M, but the east windo beside the apse is turned to bear an angle of 90° M. Thre dates can be ascertained. There are two layers of fresco while the inscription of the newest is covered to a certai extent by pillars supporting the ribs of the roof. The Chap is constructed of dressed stone, the cells and vaults roug squared masonry. Architectural features assign the vaul to the 12th Century. The little side chapel with rock-c chambers is older. In view of the different axis of th chapel to the rest of the building it seems probable that th former was built near to the hermits’ cave and was afterwar restored when the monastery was constructed in the Midd Ages. We therefore have the first frescoes and chap possibly dating back to the 5th Century, monastery va and two series of frescoes, and lastly a Latin and lat restoration. At Deir Kuruntul, perched dangerously on th slope of Jebel Kuruntal, 800 feet high, several of the cells may date back to the 5th Century, as it is known that St. Cheriton who died in 410 A.D. occupied one. In the lower chapel, a wall painting of St. Sabba extracting a thorn from a lion's foot, which by its style appears to be older than others, cannot be later than 532 A.D., the date of the Saint's death. The other portions of the monastery can be dated by the pointed arches and frescoes which reveal a mediaeval Greek style of script. At this monastery are a number of graffiti inscriptions, one in Georgian datable to the 11th Century. Elsewhere in Palestine work exists of the Georgians, e.g., The Monastery of the Cross, where, although inscriptions exist in Georgian, it is believed that the paintings may be Greek. The style is mediaeval, the figures wearing liturgical cloaks which have not been worn for centuries (Plate IX). In the Middle Ages both Armenians and Georgians had institutions which have now been taken over by the Greeks.

Type (*c*)—isolated hermitages—are similar to both type (*a*) and (*b*) on a smaller scale. Type (*b*) can be seen at Wadi Mukalik, lying some four miles south of the Jericho road and leading to the Moslem shrine at Nebi Musa. This is " situated in by far the wildest and most inaccessible spot in all the haunts of the Holy men of old ". In winter the gorge can become a torrent which in time has worn boulders from the sides of the valley and deep fissures. In the middle of summer the place is like a furnace, without shade, waterless and reflecting a fierce glare. Near the bottom of the valley at a height of 70 feet are remains of rock-cut domed cisterns and tessellated pavement. Amongst numerous caves are two niches of masonry containing frescoes of the Virgin Mary and Crucifixion. By the style and inaccessibility of the place these remains may be Byzantine. A similar niche but inaccessible can be seen to the south of Mar Sabba at the bend of the gorge. At El Mird near Mar Sabba at the summit of a mountain 1,000 feet high are remains of a series of hermits' cells of the Byzantine period, possibly 5th Century, with remains of reservoirs and an aqueduct. This is partly tunnelled and partly made of masonry. “The Kalaat el-Merd is situated on a hil detached from the western chain of the Begheia mountains In shape it is like the Frank mountain, the ancient Herodium[1] with a flat-topped summit now covered with ruins. Comin from the South, it is ascended on the left side, beginnin the ascent at the reservoirs cut out of the rock and divide by a wall partly formed by the rock itself. Near th reservoirs there is a great well, and on the plateaux an ridges of the mountains opposite, there are still visible trace of an aqueduct which, in addition to rain-water, must hav contributed to the filling of these cisterns.

The ancient convent showed none of its former greatness The pavement of its church was mosaic, composed of cube of about two centimetres each, a coarse mosaic of the sam design as that in the Church of the Greek Seminary o Santa Croce. . . . It can be easily seen by digging away th earth, to a fathom's depth, towards the east, either at th other side of the large receptacle which serves as a baptisma font, or a few steps from the fine rectangular well of Roma cement to the north of the caves which contained (as on beneath still does[2]) the tombs of the monks. The cav containing the tombs opens on the south side of the hill there are eight of them, four in a row, which were shu down by large stone slabs resembling the pavement of th cave. No outward mark showed it to be a burial place, precaution which has not, however, prevented its violatio at the present day, and perhaps will not prevent the ultimat destruction of the convent itself.

The ruins of the sacred edifice show that it belongs to th early centuries of the Christian era.”[3]

A study of all these monasteries of the Judaean deser reveals several periods of construction at or near a spo associated with a saint or ascetic. Some of these sites ma

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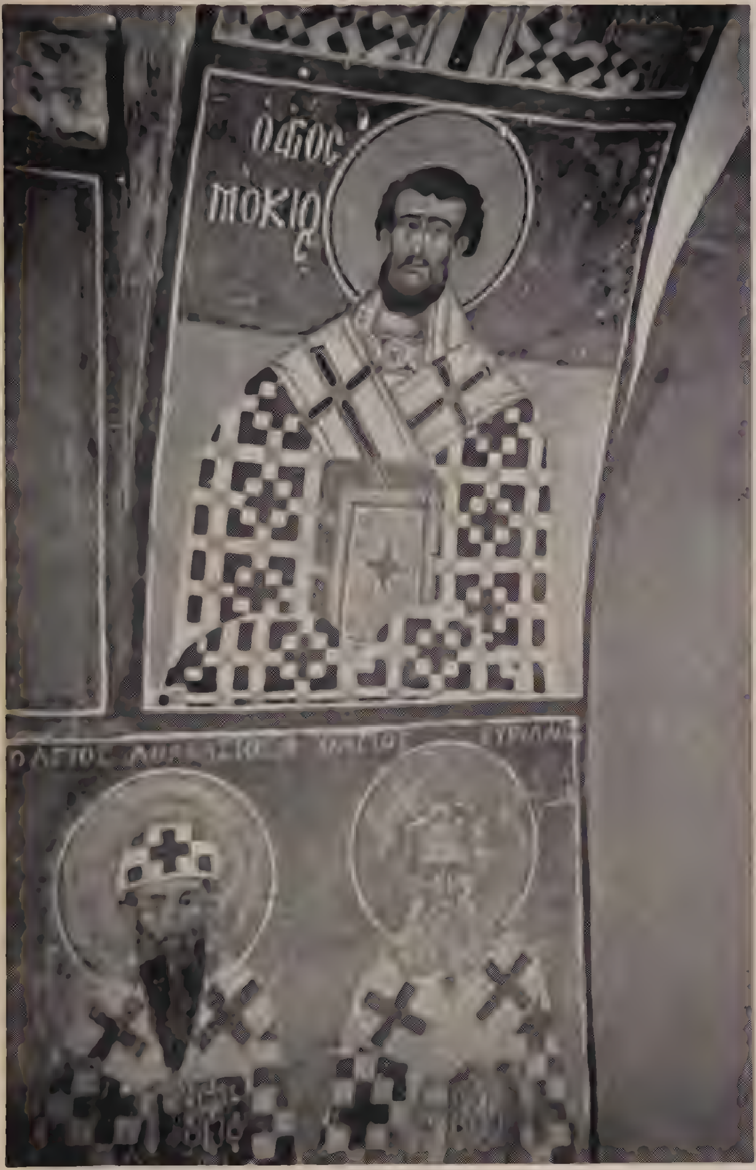
[1] Tel Hordos, S.E. of Bethlehem.

[2] On visiting El Mird in 1947 these tombs had been seriousl desecrated, bones and grave cloths strewn about and frescoes deface by Arabic and Hebrew inscriptions.

[3] Northern Najd, Carlo Guarmani, 1864.


Ο ΑΓΙΟϹ
ΜΟΚΙΟϹ

GEORGIAN INSCRIPTIONS AND PAINTINGS

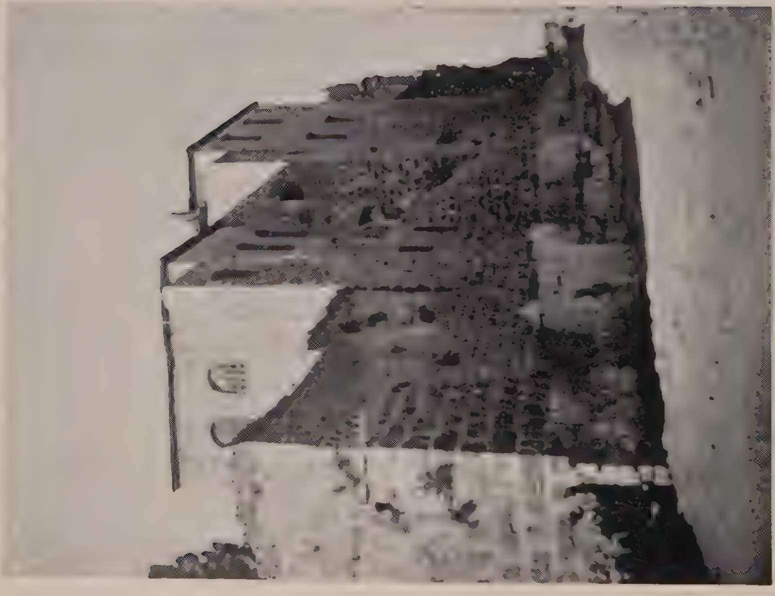


FIG. 1.

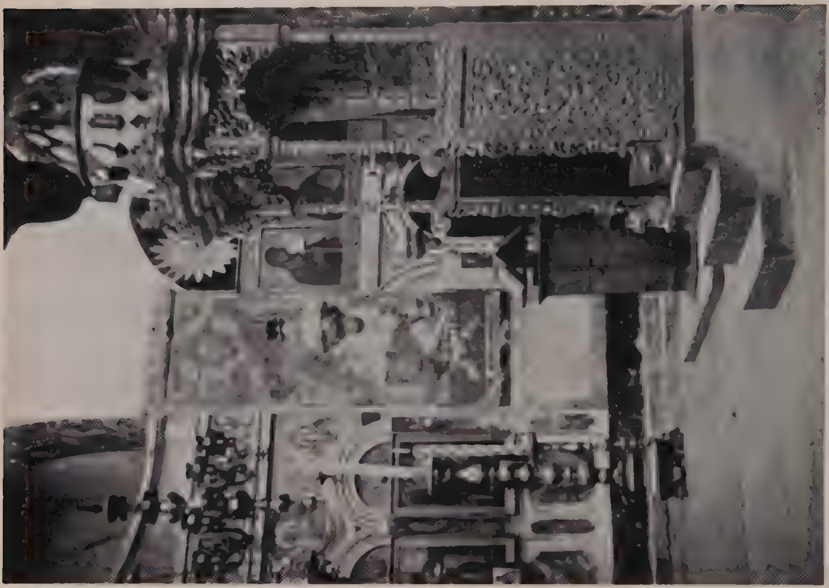
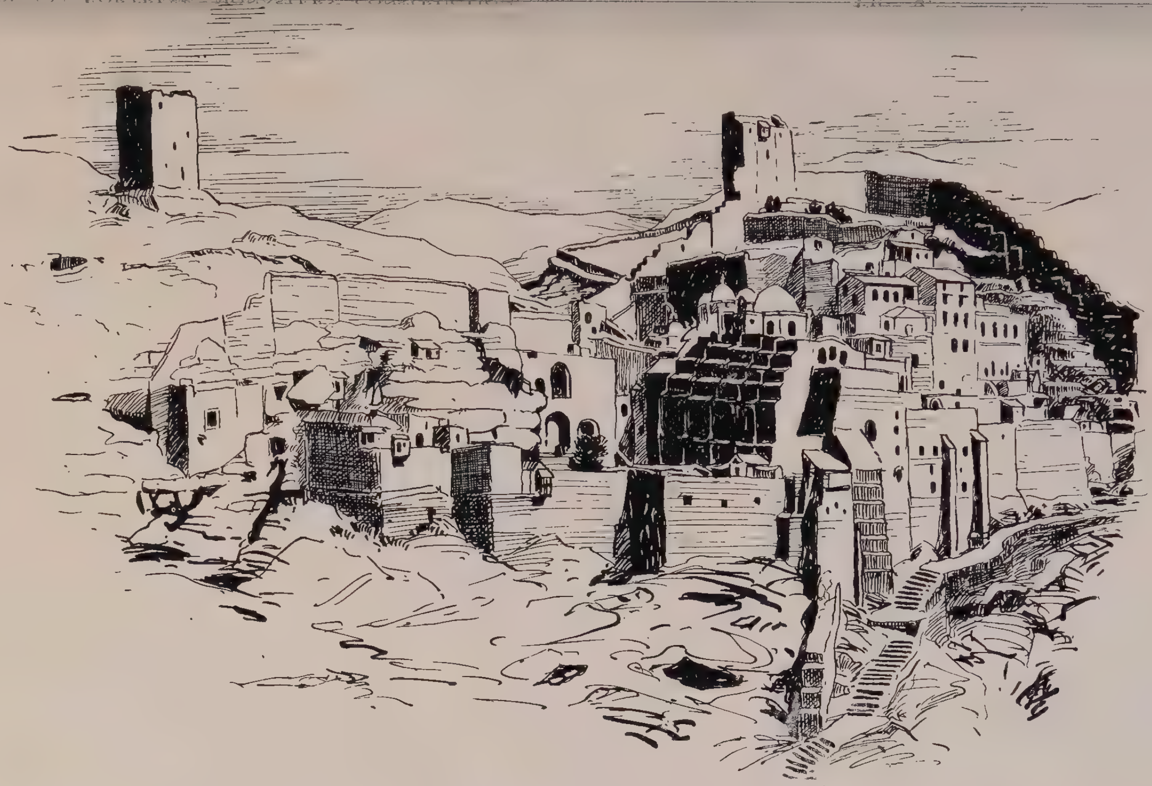
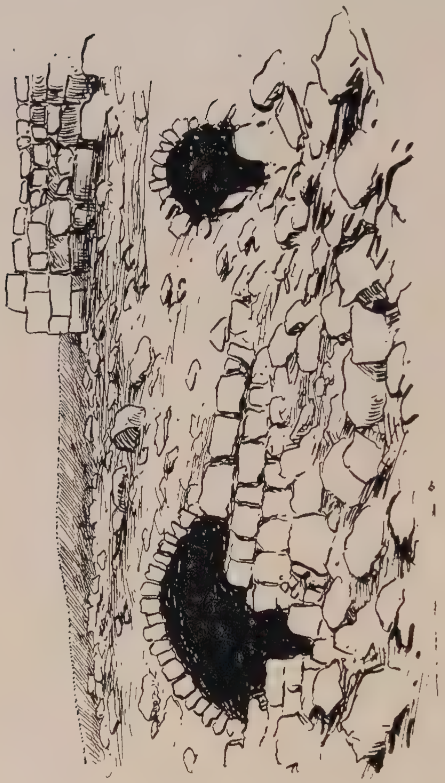


FIG. 2

TYPE (A) FORTRESS—MONASTERY CONSTRUCTION.



Monastery of Mar Sabba.



TUNNEL-VAULTED CELLARS AND RAG-WORK. KHAN EL-AHMAR.

ave been pre-Christian, at Em Tuba near Sur Bahir, for xample, a Christian monastery of the 6th Century was built ear the ruins of an Essene monastery (Coenobite) of the st Century. In the 5th Century and up to the middle of he 6th the great saints such as St. Sabba, St. Joachim and t. Theodosius settled in these districts away from civilisation, nd at this period the earliest frescoes were executed; cisterns nd aqueducts were built with more elaborate constructions t the end of the century. A new wave of monastery uilding took place in the 12th Century and the Crusading eriod, the monasteries which were better constructed, better ndowed, of greater sanctity and of better water supply, urviving. Later restorations were added, particularly in the 9th Century.

It is a far cry from the days of St. Sabba to the present ay. The first outburst of religious zeal and asceticism has eclined, all that remain are the ruins of former glory, decay, n atmosphere of death, sterile monasticism of aged monks rom the Orthodox world. The silence, wild grandeur and akedness of the gorges remain.

THE PROBLEM OF ALASHIYA

By A. Jirku

In cuneiform and hieroglyphic sources a land is sometim mentioned, named Alashiya in the former, and İrś in th latter[1]. This land Alashiya-İrś has been identified with th island of Cyprus, in spite of the objections of some scholars The main reason for this identification is the fact that certain Apollon Alasiotas is mentioned in an inscription foun in Cyprus[3]. This, however, is not in my opinion a coge reason for such an assumption. For Mount Tabor is st located in Palestine although the existence of Zeus Atabyri has been proved in the island of Rhodes.

An impartial examination of the material at our dispos will prove that the land of Alashiya-İrś must be located the north of Syria. A number of items show nothing regardi the situation of this land. The Tell el-Amarna Letters[4] an the documents of Boghazköy[5], as well as the texts found Mari[6] mention Alashiya as being a country exporting coppe This fact holds equally good for northern Syria and f Cyprus. Similarly, when in the Egyptian story of Wen-Amu the hero is driven from Byblos by sea to İrś[7], or when th king of Alashiya requests the king of Egypt to send back th property of a citizen of Alashiya who has died in Egypt his wife and children[8]. Again, when the king of Alashiy lls the king of Egypt his “ brother ”[1], it merely proves at the land of Alashiya is not a vassal-state of Egypt. one of these items gives any information concerning the uation of the land of Alashiya-Ỉrś.

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[1] Both are identical. This can be proved by a letter from El-Amarr no. 39 (Knudtzon or Mercer's ed. cited as *EA* in the following).

[2] Wainwright, G. A., *Klio* 14, 1914, p. I ff. Goetze, A., *Mva* 1927, I, p. 155.

[3] Lidzbarski, M., *Nordsemitische Epigraphik* I, 1898, p. 217.

[4] *EA*, I, 33, 16 ; 34, 18; 36, 12.

[5] *Keilschrift-Texte aux Boghazköy*, IV, I; Vs. 39, *Keilschrifturkunden* *Boghazköy*, II, 2; Vs. 48.

[6] Dossin, G., *Syria*, 20, p. iii.

[7] *Recueil de travaux etc.*, 21, 98; II, 75 ff.

[8] *EA*, I, 35, 30 ff.

The position, however, changes when we take into nsideration the following data:

In his list of conquered Syrian towns, Thutmosis III entions a land Ỉrś as being situated in Syria[2]; in his ty-list found at Kurna, Sethos I also speaks of Ỉrś as lying etween Akko and Naharaim[3], which by no means fits yprus. Similarly, when Rib-addi of Byblos sends a essenger from Alashiya to Egypt[4], or when people from e country of Lukki year by year plunder a small town in e land of Alashiya[5]. About a hundred years later a ittite king, in the Boghazköy texts, speaks of Alashiya as eing threatened by small states in the S.W. of Asia Minor[6]. oreover, Ramses III calls the land of Ỉrś a Syrian state, long with Ḳdj, Carchemish, and Arvad[7]. In the Boghazköy xts, there is a mention of Tudhalias III[8] as well as attusil III[9], stating that they had sent relations into exile Alashiya. If Alashiya is to be located in Cyprus, Hittite omination would have extended to Cyprus, a state of things hich can by no means be assumed.

In my opinion the following fact is decisive. In a list ound at Ras Shamra (Ugarit), written in the Ugaritic script nd language[10], containing the names of heads of families, ere is a marginal note “ town of Alashiya ”. How could ch a family-list have reached Ras Shamra if Alashiya is to be looked for in Cyprus? We assume, however, that t document in question is a list of Ugaritic citizens living the neighbouring Alashiya.

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[1] *EA*, I, 33, I f. 34, I f.

[2] Jirku, A., *Die ägyptischen Listen palästinenscher und syrischer Ortsnamen*, 937, II, no. 147.

[3] *ibid.*, IX, no. 12.

[4] *EA*, I, 114, 52.

[5] *EA*, I, 38, 10 f.

[6] Goetze, A., *Mvaeg*, 1927, I, 36.

[7] Breasted, T., *Ancient Records*, IV, 64.

[8] *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* I, p. 68.

[9] *ibid.*

[10] *Syria*, 21, p. 267 ff., -V.

Furthermore, we can produce a philological argument support of this contention. In those Tell el-Amarna lett which emanate from Alashiya there occurs in the Accadi text in the impf. sing., 3.m., the prefix ju-, ji-[1]. This mu be regarded as evidence of the influence of the Canaan environment, and points to Syria rather than to Cyprus.

Hence, taking into consideration all the available mater relating to Alashiya-Irś, it would seem that the eviden points to northern Syria as the most probable location this country, since we can by no means find a bridge Cyprus!

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[1] Böhl, Fr. M., *Die Sprache der Amarna-Briefe*, 1909, p. 48 f., cf. *EA*, 34, 19, 45, 46; 39, 19.

EPIGRAPHICAL GLEANINGS FROM GEZER

By N. Avigad

1. *A seal impression.*

In his reports on the excavation of Gezer, Macalister blished a pottery sherd bearing an inscribed seal impresn[1]. The excavator describes the two lines of inscription as rn and imperfect. He reads $\frac{\text{(ל) בני}}{\text{(ק) רין}}$ adding that no mes similar to these are found in the Hebrew Scriptures. dzbarski[2] considers various readings $\frac{\overset{\text{נד}}{\text{בכר–}}}{\underset{\text{זר}}{\text{קדין–}}}$. In the per line he tentatively proposes *Beker* or *Abner*, and in the ver he suggests a Greek name ending with *ίων* or *έων*. his Corpus, Diringer[3] follows Macalister's reading, thus ociating himself with RÉS where the name *Le-Bener* is cepted[4].

Before making a new attempt to read this inscription, it s to be borne in mind that a part of the impression is ssing (*Fig.* 1*a*). If we restore the outline of the whole l, we see that before each of the two words ample space ists for one more letter (*Fig.* 1*b*). Consequently, the *med possessivum* proposed at the beginning of the first line out of place. The incontestable letters בנר naturally mind one of the name *Abner*. But the preceding stroke, constructed by Macalister as a *Lamed*, rendered it more ficult for other scholars to find the correct reading. is stroke seems, however, to me to represent the vertical

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[1] *PEF QSt*, 1903, p. 204, fig. 5. *The Excavation of Gezer*, II, p. 224, 374.

[2] *Ephemeris*, II, p. 146.

[3] *Iscrizioni*, p. 125, Pl. XIV, 10.

[4] *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, III, 1247, c.

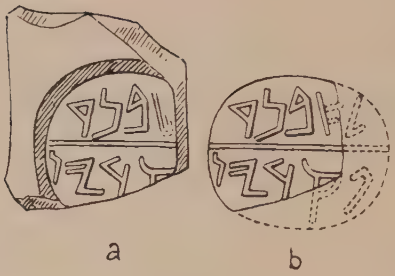

Fig. 1

stem of an *Aleph*, as the ancient Hebrew *Lamed* usually sh an inclination to the right and not to the left; in the miss space before the *Aleph*, the *Lamed possessivum* should restored. Thus we obtain the reading (ל)אבנר (belonging Abner). It is the first instance of this biblical name am Hebrew seals; its Accadian form *Abu-nūri* occurs down the Neo-Babylonian period[1].

In the second line the remnants of a *Qoph* were corre recognized by various scholars. The following letter *Daleth*, open at the top, a feature characteristic for its period, and not a *Resh* whose proper shape may be see the first line. The last letter should be read *Waw* and *Nun*, since the latter is written in a different way in the up line[2].

So far the letters קדיו seem established. As alre mentioned, they must have been preceded by one more le to fill the vacant space and to complete the missing le of the name. This letter combined with the first tw the existing letters קד, should form a biblical Hebrew r Among the letters of the alphabet, only *Yod*, *'Ain*, *Peh*, *R* and *Shin* do so. Of them the *Peh* seems the most lik since it is the only one which combines with the rest of letters into a reasonable name. Thus restored, the sec name of the seal impression should read (פ)קדיו (Pekad s name, composed of the verb פקד and of the theophoric ing יו, does not occur in the Bible, nor in the Onomasticon he Hebrew seals.

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[1] Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung*, (1939), p. 299.

[2] This does not, however, exclude rare cases of variant forms o letter occurring in the same inscription.

The term פקד applied to God usually means " to bear ebody in mind " and consequently " to help him out of lifficult position ". פקדיו finds a parallel in the name זכ (Zechariah), both in structure and sense. Their aning is exactly expressed in the wording of the prayer in *emiah* 15, 15: אתה ידעת יהוה זכרני ופקדני (Thou, o Lord, west, remember me and think of me).

An apparent discrepancy between the date of the object l the proposed reading of this legend, may be dealt with rtly. Our seal impression should be assigned to the sian period on palaeographical grounds, and because of fact that no objects were found at the excavation of zer dating to the time of the Divided Monarchy (Iron e II). On the other hand, theophoric names ending with instead of יהו, are generally regarded as pre-exilic . the Samaria ostraca and the Hebrew seals of the eighth-enth century B.C.).

Pekadyo, however, was not the owner of the seal, but his Abner, the designation בן being omitted, as is the case many other seals. That is to say, the name ending th יו was given about two generations before the cutting the seal took place, hence possibly prior to the Exile.

But on the other hand, it is obvious that any form of mes did not discontinue abruptly. Various sources indicate at at least in the Diaspora, theophoric names with the ding יו continued to be in use during the post-exilic riod. So, for instance, we find the name אחיו among e Jews of Elephantine in Upper Egypt[1]. According to the eo-Babylonian transliteration of Hebrew personal names e may assume that the theophoric form יו continued to in use among the Jews of Babylon[2].

Did perhaps Pekadyo happen to be one of the returning

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[1] Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Index.

[2] Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen*, p. 105. Torczyner, *The Lachish traca*, (1940), p. 6 (in Hebrew).

Babylonian Jews who settled in Gezer ?[1]. This would me
the fulfilment of a desire expressed by his name that G
should remember him in Exile and consequently return h
to Zion. “ For thus saith the Lord: After seventy years
accomplished for Babylon, I will remember (אפקד) you a
perform My good word toward you, in causing you
return to this place ” (*Jer.* 29, 10).

2. *A Gezer stamp*

A DRAWING of the object reproduced in *Fig.* 2 was fi
published in Macalister's *Excavation of Gezer* (1912), vol. I
pl. CXCI, 19[2]. The object is made of limestone and
the form of a disc, of approximately 6 cm. diameter, with
somewhat conoid projection in its centre. A part of
disc is missing and on the remainder some marks are incis
Macalister regarded the object as a jar-stopper and describ
it in volume II, p. 221, as follows: “ Fig. 19 has some ma
of ownership on its top which, however, mean nothing
us ”. In examining the form of this object certain dou
arise as to its being a jar-stopper. As such, the projecti

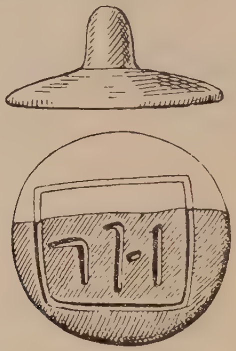

FIG. 2

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[1] The results of the excavation show that, following a gap in
occupation of the town, Gezer was apparently resettled in the Pers
period, and some other epigraphical finds point to the existence o
Jewish population at that time.

[2] There, the side elevation of the object is drawn upside down
the missing part of the disc is not restored.

t should have been much wider, fitting more or less into width of some jar mouth for which it was intended[1].

I should be rather inclined to assume that the object in stion is a stamp, the projecting part being its handle[2]. e " marks " scratched on it represent deeply incised letters hin a rectangular frame, and they clearly read גזר zer). The only letter causing some difficulties is the t one. The short stroke of the *Gimel* is nearly horizontal l is separated from the main vertical stem by a somewhat le gap. The extent of this gap may be partly due to a nor inaccuracy in the drawing. It does not, however, se any doubt as to the reading of the letter *Gimel*.

The fact that the letters of the inscription are carved in positive and not in the negative as they should be on a l, is somewhat puzzling. It is doubtful whether Macalister w the marks from an impression made in order to get m in the positive, since he did not regard them as letters a seal. As the object is not in our reach for examination, have to consider the possibility that the craftsman carved letters erroneously in the positive. Such cases are not common, e.g., many of the seal impressions bearing the ends *Yerushalem* or *Yehud* are in the negative[3], i.e., the ters were originally carved in the positive, as on our stamp.

So far, city names occur on seal impressions only. Thus, names of four towns, *Hebron*, *Ziph*, *Socoh*, and *Mmšt* are quently found impressed on jar handles of the well known *melekh* type[4]. Jar handles of the Persian period bear seal pressions containing the legend *Yerushalem*[5]. Others, pressed with the name of the province of Judaea under rsian rule *Yehud*[6], belong to the same class of seals used for administrative purposes. All these legends are writt in archaic Hebrew characters. Ancient seals or seal impr sions in square Hebrew letters are very rare and none them bear a city's name.

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[1] Cf. Nos. 9 and 13 on the same plate, which are also of stone.

[2] The stamp was discussed by the writer in a note published in brew in the *Bull. of the Jewish Pal. Expl. Soc.*, vol. XIII, p. 129 ff.

[3] Sukenik, *JPOS*, Vol. XIII, Pl. XVII. Diringer, *Iscrizioni*, . XV, XVI.

[4] They date to the seventh century B.C. On the meaning of these nes cf. Albright, *Asor*, XXI-XXII, p. 75.

[5] Cf. Sukenik, *JPOS*, Vol. XIII, pp. 226 ff.

[6] *Ibidem*, Vol. XIV, pp. 182 ff.

Evidently, our stamp could not have been used to sta jar handles, because of its large size. It served apparen to stamp the city's name on jar stoppers made of cla Naturally such stoppers easily disintegrate, but some spe mens with seal impressions were found in Gezer[2].

The name of the town thus impressed, could probal have served various administrative purposes, e.g., as a ki of trade-mark to designate the oil or wine in the jars products of Gezer, or as a mark of a city-tax imposed exported products. The numerous olive-presses uncove during the excavation point to a considerable oil industry Gezer[3]. The Shephelah where Gezer is situated, mentioned in the Bible as an important centre of olive-gro and oil-stores (*Deuter.* 27, 28).

As to the date of the stamp, it is obviously to be assign to a period when Gezer was under Jewish administrati The city was conquered by Simon Maccabaeus in 142 B and it fell to the Romans with the capture of Jerusalem A.D. 70. Its provenance does not give a reliable basis its dating. The object seems to have been found in a ciste and Macalister listed it among a group of Hellenistic obje It may be further added that a later date may be exclud since no objects of the Roman period were found in excavated area of the tell, but in tombs only[4].

The three letters of our inscription are not very suita for a palaeographical examination, as they do not bel to those letters which show characteristic changes during periods. But generally speaking, it can be said that t have an early appearance. The well known bound

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[1] In order to close a jar, usually a lump of soft clay was presse its mouth and thereafter shaped into a conical or rounded form.

[2] *Gezer*, III, Pls. CXCI, 20; CC, 1.

[3] *Ibidem*, II, p. 48.

[4] *Ibidem*, II, p. 226.

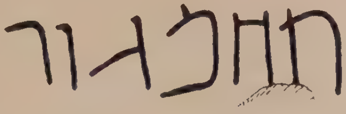

Fig. 3

scriptions of Gezer (החמבזל) cut in the rock in various aces around the city, form a valuable comparative aterial. As can be seen in *Fig.* 3[1], the word Gezer there oks very much like that on our stamp. Clermont-Ganneau signed the boundary inscriptions to a date between the asmonaean and Herodian periods[2]. Our stamp is a rther proof of administrative activities on the part of the ty, as demonstrated by the boundary inscriptions. Such tivities seem likely during the reign of the Hasmonaeans ho since their conquest considered Gezer as an important ronghold. It was also the seat of two of the Hasmonaean inces, Simeon and John Hyrcanus[3].

Thus our object represents the first Hebrew city stamp oper so far found in Palestine, and it is to be dated to e Hasmonaean period. The excavation of Gezer with its ist amount of finds yielded but a few inscribed objects, id Macalister expressed his disappointment that not a igle Hebrew or Greek seal came to light[4]. This " new " id forms therefore a welcome addition to such scanty igraphical material.

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[1] Drawn after *Gezer*, III, Pl. X, 1.

[2] Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, II, pp. 9 f., 271.

[3] *Maccabees*, I, 13, 43 f., 54.

[4] *Gezer*, II, p. 293.

ON SOME POSSIBLE EARLY OCCURRENCES OF THE CAMEL IN PALESTINE

By B. S. J. Isserlin

For a good many years now the question whether th camel was known as a domesticated animal in the ancie Near East has been a matter of interest: particularly as th way it should be answered seemed to be significant connection with the problem of the trustworthiness of O Testament tradition. One can find the literature about th topic conveniently summarised in J. P. Free's essay "Abr ham's Camels"[1] (which contains the Egyptian evidenc taken together with p. 36 of D. Van Buren's "Fauna Ancient Mesopotamia"[2]. The total result would seem to that the animal was known, and occasionally used, in th ancient world at least from the time of the rise of th dynasties onwards.

Little evidence has so far been proffered from Palesti though Free (op. cit., p. 192, note 43) refers to R. A. Macalister's "Excavation of Gezer", II, p. 9. There wou however appear to be some other prima facie possible ca of the occurrence of the camel in Bronze Age Palestin Altogether the following cases are known to me:

(1) During the Early Bronze Age, the camel cou conceivably have been represented at Gezer, where a too is reported in tomb 42[3]. This case must however disregarded: when the tomb was discovered the roof w no longer intact, and a bar of green glass, a much la intrusion, was found in it.

(2) The camel is stated to have been common at Ge

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[1] JNES, III, 1944, pp. 187-193.

[2] I have to thank Dr. O. Gurney for drawing my attention to paper, and for some other references below.

[3] R. A. S. Macalister, *op. cit.*, I, p. 319.

om at least the "Second Semitic" period onwards[1]. he Second Semitic corresponds to the developed Middle ronze and with some typical polychrome pottery[2] of a kind und at Megiddo IX, T. el Ajjul, T. el Hesy II, Milea in yprus, etc. It impinges on Late Bronze I.

(3) When excavating at Megiddo many years ago, humacher found "many camel teeth" in his "Mittlere urg", tomb I[3]. The pottery from this tomb is again sentially evolved Middle Bronze, similar to the material om Beit Mirsim, layers "E" and "D"[4]. The scarabs, scussed by Pieper[5] are of good Middle Kingdom workmanip and pattern.

(4) At Taannek, Sellin discovered the skull of a camel hen excavating a house which had collapsed over its habitants, perhaps owing to earthquake.[6]

The pottery found in this house is again typically iddle Bronze[7] and the anepigraph scarabs of amethyst d crystal[8] could be well placed in a Middle Kingdom ntext.

(5) When clearing a Middle Bronze Age tomb at el Jisr ar T. Abu Sultan, J. Ory came across camel bones[9]. arabs of Middle Kingdom type were found[10] and the aterial in general compares well with that from Beit irsim, "D". Unfortunately sand seepage into the tomb

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[1] R. A. S. Macalister, *op. cit.*, II, p. 9.

[2] *Op. cit.*, II, p. 173.

[3] G. Schumacher, *T. el Mutesellim*, I, p. 15.

[4] See the photo in C. Watzinger, *T. el Mutesellim*, II, p. 2, Fig. 1—ough the lamps, nos. 24-26, and the Base Ring juglet no. 27 on the otograph are Late Bronze forms whose presence here it is difficult explain.

[5] In C. Watzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 12 ff.

[6] E. Sellin, *Nachlese auf d. T. Taannek*, p. 13.

[7] See particularly the jugs in Sellin's Fig. 19, which can be paralleled Megiddo XIII-XI, Jericho, and Ras Shamra.

[8] E. Sellin, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[9] *QDAP*, XII, 1946, p. 33.

[10] *ibid.*, p. 37.

is reported[1] and intrusion can thus perhaps not be entire ruled out, though it seems unlikely.

None of the examples offered above is perhaps entire satisfactory: though it may be useful to have them side side for future reference. The fact that four cases should belong to the same period is however interesting.

Whatever the validity of the above instances, they s leave the problem of Abraham's Camels very much whe it was: for they all come from urban contexts. It is probab very difficult at present to quote any evidence which wou unequivocally imply camel nomadism during the Bron Age; though that need not yet in itself mean that it did n exist then. For evidence about any kind of nomadi proper during that period is very hard to come by; t Mari texts and the Story of Sinukhe give reasonably detail pictures, not of nomadism proper, but of semi-nomadis they deal with arab, not with bedu people[2] who went for grain growing and tree cultivation as well as sto breeding (and " lifting ") or hunting. Camel nomadism some kind during the Iron Age there appears to have bee but what went before is quite uncertain: The texts show some kind of shifting humanity liable to become danger to the settled populations, but do little to add detail abo the mode of life and organization of these wanderers: pure pastoralism and the regularity of movement char teristic of it there is no evidence; the figure of Enkidu, w lived with his beasts and knew not bread, remains mythical isolation. The history of the growth and devel ment of Near Eastern nomadism has yet to be writt Meanwhile it will be useful to remember that nomadi proper of the cameleering type has been considered elsewh as a historical phenomenon which can be dated after rtain period;[1] that in the Syrian steppe belt a probable minus a quo can be found in the changes, perhaps matically conditioned to some extent, which appear to ve taken place after neolithic and chalcolithic times[2]; d lastly that nomadism has not been an unchanging tity—such features as tea, and coffee for food, or e horse and firearms for war and hunting, and now the trol tin and other paraphernalia of the motor age, have at various times been incorporated into the nomad mode life.

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[1] *ibid.*, p. 32.

[2] Cp. G. Dossin, *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. R. Dussaud*, p. 984 A. Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinukhe*, p. 166 ; Cp. W. F. Albri *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, p. 120-2; *id.*, *Archaeology of Palestine* *the Bible*, p. 130 ff.

Just as this article was going to press, Dr. Stekelis of the ebrew University kindly informed me that information out camel bones identified by him in *Neolithic* strata at a'ar Hagolan (near the Yarmak) is to be contained in a per of his. This will be called "A new Neolithic industry, e Yarmukian"; it is to appear shortly.

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[1] Cp. R. F. Peel in *Journ. R. Geogr. Soc.*, C., 1942, pp. 84-5, on the bbu of the Libyan desert.

[2] Cp. e.g., Flight-Lieutenant Maitland in *Antiquity*, I, 1927, p. 197. ff. Waechter and V. M. Seton-Williams in *JPOS*, XVIII, 1938, . 172 ff. ; A. S. Kirkbride and Lankester Harding in *QDAP*, XI, 45, p. 37 ff; *id.*, *PEQ*, 1947, p. 7 ff.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Soils of Palestine. By A. Reifenberg, Ph.D., translate by C. L. Whittles, M.A., Ph.D.(Cantab.). London Thomas Murby & Co. Second Edition, 1947. P. 17 16*s.*

In the Preface to the original edition of 1937 the autho remarked that, " For fifteen hundred years the land ha steadily deteriorated ", and he gave, as the main reason the abandonment of terrace cultivation, the destruction c trees, the abolition of the ancient irrigation works, th advance of the sand dunes, and the burning of dung a fuel. Reasons enough !

This second edition brings the work up to date, excep that it was unable to take account of political change The headings of the various sections will give an idea c the contents of this practical and useful book. They are Geology; Relief; Climate; Soil Formation with the sub headings, Weathering Process under different conditions c precipitation; Comparison with other climatic conditions Soils and Agriculture; Erosion; and Colonisation. In fac an examination of the whole important problem.

In his description of the main topographical divisions c Palestine the author remarks that the possibilities of irrigatio in the Negeb have unfortunately not yet been sufficientl investigated. And, of course, generally the critical proble in many areas is that of the supply of water. There is considerable literature dealing with the rainfall in th country, and the work of Dr. Ashbel in this connection well known. That authority is of opinion that changes i climate were not the decisive factor in the decay of settlemen in the Negeb. And it may be noted that Dr. Reifenber does not appear to attribute the deterioration of agricultu during the past centuries to any diminution of rainfall.

A great part of the book is necessarily devoted to chemic vestigation of the various types of soil. These important scussions are not for the general reader, though the expert agricultural chemistry will find them indispensable. They e evidence of the thoroughness with which the subject has en examined, and must be the product of much patient d skilled labour, expended on the study of the soils in e four regions described as arid, semi-arid, semi-humid and mid. The expert will find much information, of an thoritative kind, in these sections of the book.

As to irrigation, the author stresses the danger attendant on the use of water in a bad chemical state. In fact the portance of suitable water for irrigation is placed clearly fore the reader. To revert to the question of the Negeb, unless sweet water is brought into the Negeb, or unless n-off water is stored in sufficient quantities, the agricultural ture of the Negeb will have to be based on dry farming ”.

There is a good deal about the inroads made by the nd-dunes on fertile country. There is a striking plate owing the dunes encroaching on the fertile, citrus land near ishon le Zion. There is another equally remarkable plate, om a photograph lent by the Air Ministry, of the encroach-ent of sand-dunes at Cæsarea, where the remains of the ncient city are covered by sand, but the Crusader city is ill free. Some plantation of trees has been undertaken here t much more is required. The author also mentions the verwhelming of the sites at Gaza, Ashdod and Ascalon. We see the march of the dunes on the town walls of scalon, (finally destroyed in A.D. 1270), whose southern mpart, 4 metres thick and 8 metres high, is already nearly ried ”. Efforts are being made to stem the advance by antation.

Then soil erosion, that bugbear of the modern world, hich is linked up with the destruction of vegetation. That estruction in Palestine can be dated to “ the downfall of e Byzantine régime.” The goat has been the great iminal. Then the decay of terrace cultivation, which rotects the soil and prevents its being washed away on the illsides. The author quotes the report of the Government of Palestine Soil Conservation Board on the Nablus-Tulkar Valley, with its mass of neglected terraces.

We have then a description of Zionist colonisation and th resulting farming settlements. And we may end this revie by quoting the author's opinion: " It is self-evident that these results have only been achieved because the power the British Mandate introduced orderly administration . . built up a network of roads and communications, and h promoted the development of the country ". And now ?

C. F. A.-C.

Megiddo II Seasons of 1935-39, by the Megiddo Expediti GORDON LOUD, Field Director. (Oriental Institu Publications LXII.) Chicago, 1948. Text pp. xxi 199, figs. 1-375 in text, 376-416 plans and sectio Plates 1-148 pottery, 149-290 objects of other materia

In his Foreword to this instalment of the Megid publications, Mr. Loud explains that it is not the last wo on the excavations carried out from 1935 to 1939 a " pretends to be no more than a catalogue of the architectu and artifacts " recovered during those seasons. This limi tion, no doubt very disappointing to Mr. Loud and collaborators, was imposed by the exigencies of wartim which prevented a further season of excavation and call away the members of the expedition to more urgent tas in any critical estimate of the work as it stands th untoward circumstances must be kept in mind. We c feel grateful that the temptation to postpone publication been resisted and that we now have before us a work wh does admirably all that it sets out to do.

The sections devoted to the architectural remains no mere catalogue, but a detailed account, fully illustrat of the buildings uncovered in the four areas into wh the site is divided. Every one of the strata has its poi of interest. The excavations went down to bedrock only Area BB, on the east side of the mound, where a c ow the chalcolithic Stratum XX produced bone artefacts l flint implements of the Jerichoan industry in its simplest m. The animal bones, artefacts and flints from the cave the subjects of brief notes by Miss D. M. A. Bate, Mrs. owfoot and Miss Joan Crowfoot respectively. The same ıt industry characterized Stratum XX, at which pottery ıde its appearance. A mud-brick structure in Stratum X was recognized as a small temple or shrine; at the ne level there was a pavement on the stones of which were ised drawings, including figures of men and animals. Stratum XVIII, the first of the Early Bronze Age, the nmit of the Tell was fortified by a massive stone wall, entually reinforced to a width of nearly eight metres and ade use of as a retaining wall in Stratum XVII. At this vel were laid the foundations of a large stone-built altar, cular in plan, which continued in use for a long period; Stratum XVI it was raised to a height of at least 1.40 etres, with a flight of steps up one side.

Stratum XV, regarded as the earliest of the Middle onze Age and dated 1950-1850 B.C., had some unique ıd rather puzzling features. The great circular altar mained standing but the surrounding floor-level was ised and at some distance to the east a retaining wall as built, the foundations of which went down into ratum XVII. Close to the altar were grouped three rines or temples, all alike in plan; the term *megaron* is ed to describe them, but this is a misnomer since the ntrance was at one of the longer sides of each building. Iassive masonry is stated to be a characteristic of Stratum V. We may note in passing that at this level burials ppeared inside the city (as often in the MB levels of alestinian sites) and the great number of such burials in tratum XIV is commented upon, though no description of ıem is given.

It was not until the period of Stratum XIII B that the ircular altar was built over, and the excavators believe that ıe area overlying the altar and temples long continued to e regarded as sacred. The only important building found in Stratum XIII was the mud-brick town wall; in Areas A and CC, on the north and the south side of the T respectively, the excavations reached this level and broug to light an interesting gateway in the former and an out defence wall in the latter. In the period of Stratum X the main wall was strengthened and the town rebuilt on new plan which was partly followed in Stratum XI; thenc forward there was little change in this respect till the e of the Bronze Age (Stratum VII A). Six stone-built chamb tombs were excavated in Stratum XI, at about the sa level as those previously discovered by Dr. Schumache expedition. One tomb of the same type is assigned Stratum XII, another to X; the same strata contained a a number of graves and jar burials.

In Area AA a building of sufficient dimensions to described as a palace was erected in Stratum X and, the same (or possibly the next higher) level, a new c gate. Both these buildings were at their best during t Late Bronze period of Stratum VIII (dated *c.* 1479-1350 B. after the capture of Megiddo by Thothmes III; a sm hoard, including a gold bowl, was found under the flo of a room in the palace. A single-chamber temple was bu at this time in the so-called sacred area, above the circu altar and the temples of Stratum XV; it rested upon lay of paving, of uncertain date and purpose, which went do as low as the level of Stratum XIII B.

The flourishing Bronze Age culture of Megiddo w brought to a violent close about 1150 B.C. (Stratum VII but in the meantime the city gate and the palace h suffered at the hands of an enemy. The celebrated Megid Ivories, described in a former volume by Mr. Loud, ca from the palace treasury in Stratum VII B. The finds abo Stratum VI, dating from the Iron Age, have been dealt wi in a previous publication—*Megiddo I* by R. S. Lamon a G. M. Shipton—but the volume now before us contai some supplementary information about Stratum IV in t form of a note by Mr. Lamon on the city gate of t period; we observe that he does not take up Mr. Crowfo

gestion (P.E.Q. 1940, p. 137) that the fortification wall
acent to the later gate, of Stratum III, should be recog-
d as belonging to that Stratum rather than to IV.
inscribed statue-base of Rameses VI—evidence that in
period of the Judges Megiddo was an Egyptian town—is
subject of a contribution by the late J. H. Breasted.

The adverse conditions under which *Megiddo II* was
nposed are particularly noticeable in connection with the
onology of the successive strata. The " tentative " dating
posed by Mr. G. M Shipton in his *Notes on the Megiddo*
tery of Strata VI-XX (1939) has been provisionally retained
h one slight modification (1150 instead of 1170 B.C. for
end of Stratum VII). In these *Notes*, to which we are
s invited to refer, the pottery was classified by strata,
hout mention of the exact provenance of particular
mples and without any indication that, as now appears,
ery large proportion of the Middle Bronze Age pottery
s found in the many graves and tombs on the Tell. In
giddo II likewise there is no discussion of the circumstances
which finds of pottery and other objects were made, nor
the principle on which the burials are allotted to their
pective strata, but we must gratefully acknowledge that
tables and plans make it perfectly easy to ascertain the
venance of every object illustrated in the numerous plates.
ere are several instances (which the reader is left to
cover for himself) of discrepancies between Mr. Shipton's
tes and *Megiddo II*; presumably we should accept the latter
a correction of the earlier work, all the more, perhaps,
cause doing so sometimes results in complicating the
atigraphy. Thus, four flat-bottomed cooking-pots charac-
istic of the Middle Bronze Age (Pl. 7, nos. 9-12) are now
igned to Stratum XVI, an EB level where they are
viously out of place.

Various circumstances combine to throw doubt on the
ronology of Strata XV-XIII, which are supposed to cover
period 1950 to 1750 B.C. A flat-bottomed jar and three
ps, all typical of an early phase of the Middle Bronze
e (corresponding to Stratum H at Tell Beit Mirsim) and

figured in the chart to Mr. Shipton's *Notes* as from Stratu
XV (nos. 10, 22-24), are now shown as coming from Loc
4009 of Stratum XIII B (*Megiddo II* Pl. 16, nos. 8, 16-1
This locus is a rubble pavement immediately above t
great circular altar beside which were grouped the thi
temples of Stratum XV. The importance of these structu
makes it very desirable that they should be accurately dat
Such massive masonry as is said to characterize Stratum X
does not accord well with the state of poverty which
associate with Palestine about 1900 B.C., but this date w
nevertheless accepted by Dr. G. E. Wright (*Biblical Archaeo*
gist VII, 1944, p. 70), while Professor Albright, assumi
that there was a long interval between the end of Stratu
XVI and the beginning of XV, proposed a range for t
latter from the 21st to the 19th century (*A.J.A. XLIV* 19
p. 547). Both these scholars seem to have shared the impressi
that the Middle Bronze Age stratification of Megiddo was
a normal type; it now appears that this was not the case.

The plates illustrating the pottery of Strata XV a
XIV make it perfectly clear that the types shown as to
furniture are characteristic of MB II whereas the ty
found amongst the ruins in the same strata are for the m
part earlier and to be classified as MB I. From these fa
one is tempted to infer that Stratum XIII was the earli
to be inhabited by users of MB II wares, and that
massive buildings of Stratum XV were perhaps erected
the Early Bronze Age and retained in use during part
the following, MB I, period. No definite conclusi
however, can be reached without further evidence to sh
whether it is the earlier or the later class of pottery t
must be regarded as "intrusive"; we are told nothing abo
any areas disturbed by walls or graves dug down fr
higher levels and nothing about the character of
presumably numerous potsherds that could not be bu
up into complete shapes for illustration. As matters sta
the reader must be on his guard against either treating
finds from the burials as a criterion for dating the occupati
levels or using the latter to date the burials.

Nevertheless we must not ignore the fact that the burials the higher strata are on the whole of later date than se in the lower and that they thus combine to form a uable series such as is not to be obtained from unstratified nbs in cemetery areas. Apart altogether from questions absolute dating, the burials on the Tell provide excellent portunities for tracing the development of MB pottery pes and for noting the appearance of imported Cypriote rics and—on the threshold of the Late Bronze Age—of two-coloured ("bichrome") painted ware, as also of jects such as toggle-pins, scarabs and sets of ivory inlay. e Megiddo Expedition will earn our gratitude if means n be found soon to provide a complementary volume of t in which the questions raised by *Megiddo II*, concerning th the burials and the strata of occupation, may be swered once for all.

G. M. FitzGerald.

CORRESPONDENCE

EAR PROFESSOR HOOKE,

Mr. G. Lankester Harding's valuable article on the Dead a Scrolls in your issue for July-October, 1949 (which only cently came into my hands), criticizes severely some of us ho saw the scrolls at Jerusalem in 1948. To correct, if ossible, the unpleasant and unfair impression which this iticism must have produced, I beg leave to submit a little pplementary information.

We who were at the American School of Oriental esearch learned only gradually the time and circumstances the discovery. When Dr. Trever told Mr. Hamilton bout the manuscripts, we supposed that they had been r years in the library of St. Mark's Monastery. When we arned later that they had been found in a cave within the evious year, we failed to realise that the Department of ntiquities did not have that information ; indeed, the

letter from Mr. Hamilton quoted by Mr. Harding first ma
me fully aware of this fact, which, with Mr. Hann
mistaken judgment as to the age of the manuscripts, proba
explains the Department's apparent lack of interest in the
In any case, I can give emphatic and unqualified assura
that there was no intention or consciousness of withhold
information.

It is not true that Dr. Trever " encouraged, and ope
rejoices in, the smuggling of the documents out of
country." Dr. Trever and I are glad only that they w
saved from destruction. I told Archbishop Samuel in Ma
1948, that, in view of the rapid deterioration in security a
the imminent end of the Mandate, such valuable docume
should be taken to a place of safety. While I vagu
remember mentioning the law concerning export of antiq
ties, perhaps I should have informed the Archbishop m
fully on this point. I trust it is unnecessary for me to s
however, that I neither proposed nor contemplated anythi
illegal.

As a matter of fact, while the Department of Antiquit
was still bravely carrying on as best it could, conditi
were already such as to make us feel that there was
longer any real law or government in the country. Th
anything but anarchy and mob violence would follow
end of the Mandate seemed unlikely, and what governm
would have even nominal control of Jerusalem was qu
uncertain. The librarian of St. Mark's Monastery w
killed in the fighting in May, and the building was damag

Sincerely yours,

MILLAR BURROWS

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the owing :—

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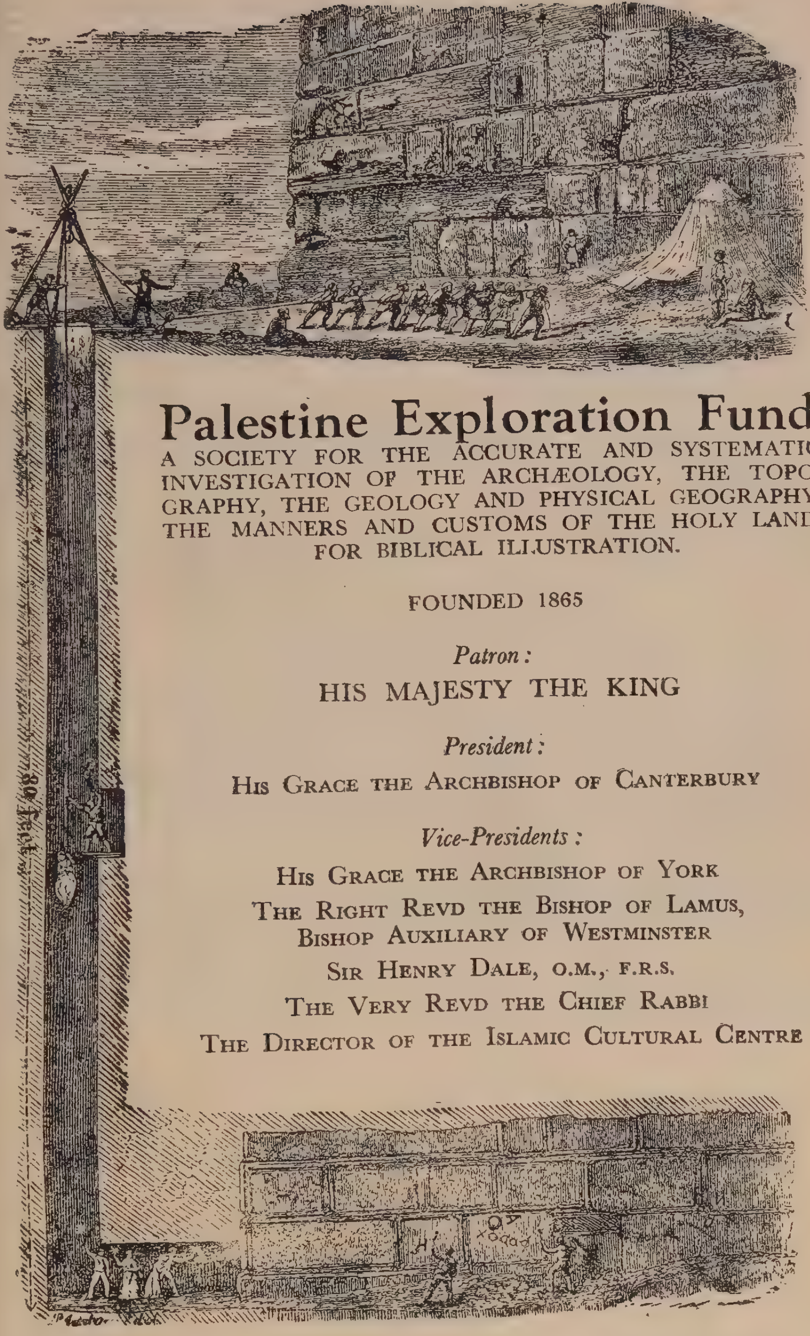

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THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS

The 84th Annual General Meeting of the Fund was held 2 Hinde Street, W.1, at 4.45 p.m., June 28th, 1950, with Bruce Ingram, O.B.E., M.C., in the Chair.

After formal business, Professor G. R. Driver was elected airman of the Executive Committee for the ensuing year, d Professor D. Winton Thomas, Vice-Chairman, on the otion of Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, seconded by Dr. S. A. rnbaum. Mr. Crowfoot further proposed that Miss athleen Kenyon be re-elected Honorary Treasurer and ev. Canon C. B. Mortlock as Honorary Secretary, and at the remaining members of the Executive Committee as present constituted be re-elected for the ensuing year. supporting the motion, Professor J. Garstang proposed at to the Executive Committee be added the name of the tiring Chairman and he moved a vote of thanks to Mr. J. W. rowfoot for the successful way in which he had presided er the work of the Executive Committee of the Fund ring some very difficult years. The proposal, seconded Dr. S. A. Birnbaum, was put to the meeting and carried animously with applause.

Dr. Mortimer Wheeler, C.I.E., M.C., M.A., D.Litt., gave lecture on The Eastern Frontier of the Roman Empire, lustrated by lantern slides. Votes of thanks were passed the lecturer for a most interesting lecture, and to the hairman for the signal services he had rendered archaeological studies by giving scholars the opportunity of publis a long series of authoritative illustrated reports of discoveries in the *Illustrated London News*. A numbe archaeologists present said how much they had owed to interest aroused by publicity given their work in this In replying Sir Bruce Ingram described how his int in the long and patient work that lay behind archaeolo discoveries had been awakened when, as a schoolboy travelled in Egypt. He had then determined that sh he ever be in a position to do so, he would endeavou make that work better known, and when Assistant E on the staff of the *Illustrated London News* he began to that resolution into effect. It was not at first thought there would be any demand for articles in so speciali field, but after a surprising response on the part of general public to his first ventures, he had no further diffic in having archaeology included as a suitable topic illustrated reports by the expert authorities themselves

The death of Professor R. A. S. Macalister at the age of eighty has severed another ancient link with the history of the Palestine Exploration Fund. His name always be associated with the excavation of Gezer, excavation which might almost be said to mark the begin of scientific archaeology in Palestine. The list of his pub tions shows the wide extent of his interests, and his Schw Lectures on the Philistines is still a book of considerable v to students.

In his monograph entitled *The Hebrew Scrolls once and Finally*, published in July of this year, Professor Ze has pronounced a judgment of Solomon on the still m debated issue of the date and genuineness of the so-c Ain Feshkha documents. He rejects entirely the findin the palaeographic experts, and maintains that " He palaeography of the pre-Christian period is not a scien He claims that the Isaiah scroll " was written during Middle Ages by an ignorant scribe who did not compre

meanings of the passages in Isaiah and who copied them
chanically ". With regard to the Habakkuk Commentary
ich has recently been published in one volume with the
iah scroll, he asserts that it also emanates from the Middle
es and says that " it is a pity to waste time on such a
rthless commentary ". His monograph ends with the
rds " I have endeavoured to show that there was *no*
covery. The Isaiah Scroll and the Habakkuk Commentary
ve no value whatsoever ". The palaeographers will no doubt
end their findings, and further light needs to be thrown
the somewhat mysterious circumstances under which the
olls came into the possession of the Hebrew University
l the Orthodox Convent of St. Mark in Jerusalem. But
ofessor Zeitlin has not explained the well-attested results
the exploration of the Ain Feshkha cave by Mr. Lankester
rding and R. P. de Vaux. It is doubtful whether this
cathedra pronouncement of the learned rabbinical scholar
ll be accepted as final.

In the BASOR No. 118, April 1950, Professor Albright
ues a sturdy rejoinder to the Solomonic judgement and
ys, " It is true that there are a few recent writers who
ve denied the authenticity and antiquity of the Scrolls,
t their arguments are without merit and have been rejected
all competent students who have come to the subject with
ficient background and have kept themselves fully informed
the progress of discovery and research." He insists that
e Isaiah Scroll proves the great antiquity of the text of
e Masoretic Book, and that it serves as a warning against
ht-hearted emendation. The published volume containing
facsimile the text of the Isaiah Scroll and the Habakkuk
ommentary is now in the hands of scholars, and we shall
on learn the results of their investigations.

In the same issue of BASOR Professor Albright discusses
e inscription on the statue of Idrimi, discovered by Sir
eonard Woolley at Tell Atchana in 1939. The text, with
anscription, translation, and an admirable introduction

and commentary by Professor Sidney Smith, was publis
last year. The inscription, a long one of 104 lines, is
autobiographical document of the greatest historical inte
Idrimi was king of Alalakh, and his kingdom extended c
a large part of northern Syria. Sidney Smith's date for
reign is *c.* 1414–1385 B.C. with 1375 B.C. as the latest c
for the end of his reign. Albright places his date more t
half a century earlier, for reasons which will, no doubt, c
under full discussion in due course. Professor Alb
remarks that the inscription “ revolutionizes our knowle
of the history of Syria in the fifteenth century.” A poi
interest to historians of Israel is a mention of the ʾ*apiru*, w
possible identification with the Habiru and the Heb
has been the subject of much learned discussion.

Another important inscription-bearing monument w
has recently been discovered is a stela of Amenophi
(1450–1425 B.C.). It was discovered in 1942 at Mit-Rah
the site of the ancient Memphis. The Inscription
translation was published in *Annales du Service des Antiq*
XLII (1943). It celebrates the accession of Amenoph
to the throne and describes his triumphs in two campa
in Syria and Palestine. In the list of his captives we find
ʾ*apiru* mentioned along with other population-group
Syria, viz., Retenu (i.e., Canaanites), Shasu (i.e., Bedou
Hurrians, and people of Nuhasse. The significance of
evidence is discussed by Professor Rowley in his re
Schweich Lectures, *From Joseph to Joshua*, a book of
importance which will be reviewed in this journal in due co

The following note from Mr. Cecil Roth may b
interest to students of the Old Testament :—“ On Thurs
Aug. 17th of this year, I spent the night at Calvi, a
sea-port in the island of Corsica. Returning to my
at dusk, I noticed a number of frogs against the wall i
passage which led slightly uphill at the side of the buil
On closer inspection it resulted that the entire path
thick with them, so that it was difficult to put one's

wn without crushing one or two : they were about half inch long, and so far as it was possible to discern any neral direction seemed to be making their way down-hill. the hotel we were informed that this had been going on some weeks ; that the same phenomenon was to be served on roads leading to the town, where the vehicles re crushing them by the hundred, and that nothing of e sort had ever happened before in the locality within the emory of the oldest living inhabitants (I spoke to one whose collections went back for fifty years). My party had to ave next morning, and I was unable to get together any ore precise or scientific details, which I am trying to obtain rough the medium of a local monastery. What I saw can wever fairly be described as a ‘ plague ’ of frogs, and one n well imagine how on a slightly larger scale, coming nto thine house, and into thy bedchamber, and upon thy d ’, it would be found a major affliction.”

Last year Professor Mallowan began exploratory excava- ons at Nimrud and was thereby encouraged to carry out, nder the auspices of the British School of Archaeology in aq, full scale operations this year at that site already made mous by the work of Layard a century ago. The results his excavations have been most gratifying, and the account them has been given to the British public by Professor allowan in the *London Illustrated News* of July 29th of this ear.

The Karatepe Phoenician inscriptions have occupied the ttention of Semitic scholars during the last three years, nd now, to the list of publications given by Professor oneyman in his article published in this journal last year, ust be added the publication of the text, translation, and mmentary by Professor Alt in *Die Welt des Orients* heft 4, ugust, 1949.

In the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, April, 1950, there is n extremely interesting tactical study of two great ancient

battles, viz., Qadesh on the Orontes (*c.* 1296 B.C.), ar
Megiddo (1479 B.C.), by Mr. S. Yeivin. What tanks are
modern warfare chariots were to ancient warfare, and tl
tactics employed in these two battles, successfully in tl
former, and unsuccessfully in the latter battle, depended c
the skilful use of chariotry. Infantry were only to be use
as an auxiliary force after the decisive blow inflicted by tl
heavy chariotry. As a commentary on the modern controver
as to the respective merits of light and heavy tanks, it
interesting to note that the Hittite chariot carried a chariotee
a fighter, and a shield-bearer, giving it a considerab
advantage over the lighter Egyptian chariot which on
carried a driver and a fighter. The article contains plans
both battles.

Those who are interested in the sacred sites of Galil
will find a valuable article by Professor Albrecht Alt on th
subject in *Beiträge zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde*, 6
heft I, 1949.

A vague and often obscure title which is very comm
in the Old Testament is that of " prince ", Heb. *sar*, general
connected with the Accadian *sharru* (king), though t
connexion has been disputed. This title, together with
the many Hebrew designations for heads and leaders
the people, is carefully examined in an interesting article
R. P. J. Van der Ploeg in the January 1950 issue of the *Re*
Biblique. The author thinks that the use of the title *sar* mar
the change from a nomadic or semi-nomadic pattern
society to one in which the power of the king and his offici
had become paramount. But the transition was nev
completely effected ; the ancient family and tribal organi
tions always retained some measure of their original righ

We have to record with much regret that Mr. J.
Crowfoot, after five years of most valuable service to the Fur
has retired from the Chairmanship of the Executive Committ
He is succeeded in office by Professor G. R. Driver.

CAVATIONS AT TELL ED-DUWEIR, PALESTINE, RECTED BY THE LATE J. L. STARKEY, 1932–1938

Some Results and Reflections

An address delivered at a meeting of the P.E.F. on
January 25, 1950

By Olga Tufnell

As a Danish friend once complained—" the trouble about ı English is that you're always apologising about some- ng "—so I shall not excuse the long delay in presenting ıe results of the excavations at Tell ed-Duweir : world nts and the expedition's tragic loss have conspired to put h peaceful pre-occupations far beyond individual control.

Twelve years have elapsed since the late James Leslie rkey last addressed members of the Palestine Exploration nd in June, 1937, but less than five of them have been nt on the publications of the Wellcome-Marston Expe- ion. The first volume in the series was Professor rczyner's account of the Lachish Letters, published early 1938. It was followed two years after the Director's ıth by volume II on " The Fosse Temple " prepared by successor in the field, C. H. Inge, Lankester Harding and self, and issued by the Oxford University Press at a time en general attention was otherwise engaged. War and aftermath completely engrossed us all until 1945, when ss M. V. Seton-Williams and I made a beginning on ume III, which I am thankful to say is now approaching npletion.

Fortunately, Dr. David Diringer, now University Lecturer Semitic Epigraphy at Cambridge, was then able to ımine all the early Hebrew inscriptions, and his detailed ›ort forms a special chapter. We had the benefit of . M. A. Murray's profound knowledge of Egyptian roglyphs in the elucidation of scarabs and amulets.

Miss D. M. A. Bate provided a report on the animal bo and numerous other members of the British Museum (Natu History) staff have identified those unconsidered trifles, s as stones and shells which sometimes contribute informa out of all proportion to their size. Most of the admira photographs in the book are the work of R. Richm Brown, while the plans of the site, its buildings and to were made in successive years by W. B. K. Shaw, G Goulden and H. V. Bonney.

All this and much more practical help and encoura ment has come my way, but above all I have had the unfai support of the Wellcome Trustees, headed by their Chairm Sir H. H. Dale, and they have never faltered in their de mination to overcome the many obstacles in the way publication.

The fourth and final volume in the publications will with our knowledge of the site from the earliest times to end of the Bronze Age, but as a preliminary acco Mr. B. S. J. Isserlin and I have prepared an outline interpretation of the occupational levels present in the t trenches, which is to be published in the next number of Quarterly.

The present intention is, therefore, to summarise for y benefit some of the conclusions contained in volume in so far as they emerge from the incomplete excavation

The period to be discussed ranges from about 120 600 B.C. and covers the first and second Iron Ages, tho most of the material belongs to the end of the period. close attribution of specific groups or objects to a def date is dependent on the discovery of inscriptions mentio historic events or personages, and it is a lamentable fact despite a century of excavations in Palestine nothing of kind has yet been found in an undisturbed city level closed tomb deposit of the Iron Age.

To illustrate the importance of a fixed point in a sequ of archaeological material, may I refer to the contents tomb found in Amman, which is to be published as a m graph of this Fund by Lankester Harding. With ality pottery, seals and rings, there was a signet inscribed h the name of "Adoni Nur servant of Ammi Nadab." w Ammi Nadab was styled ruler of Ammon in the syrian lists of Ashur-bani-pal (668–625 B.C.). It is memor- e that the remote kingdom of Ammon—now seen to be der Assyrian suzerainty in the 7th century B.C.—should oduce the first group which can be associated with a known rsonage, and the Department of Antiquities of the shemite Kingdom of the Jordan is to be heartily con- tulated.

Though there are local specialities in the group and a se affinity with Assyrian ceramics, the general trend of the ttery in this and other contemporary deposits conforms to lestinian development, and is particularly noticeable in case of the lamps.

Taking lamps as an example of a trend which can also be lowed in the case of bowls, jugs and jars, the sequence of nps at Tell ed-Duweir establishes that the practical provement of a disk base did not become popular before occupation of Tomb 106. On the analogy of the Amman oup where lamps with flat disk bases are predominant, the nb was occupied in the latter part of the 7th century and ssibly after, for there were double the number of heavy k-based lamps, which are a late development.

To show what is meant by a pottery sequence—and there many who still cannot accept that it is a true mirror of ronology—I must digress to introduce to you a very niliar object presented in the terms of archaeological awing convention : it is the tea-cup.

Mr. W. B. Honey, of the Victoria and Albert Museum, ry kindly selected for me the most typical forms illustrating development of cups between the 17th and 19th centuries our era. Derived from the heavy bowl without saucer ed in the Chinese tea ceremony, the delicate cup and ucer at the top of the drawing[1] was specially made in China the export market. As the tea-drinking habit spread in

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Plate XVII.

Europe, the cup became larger and acquired a handl attached well below the rim. In the next phase, the for was more angular, and the handle was put on nearer the ri In the third phase, the handle is higher than the rim of t cup. It is interesting to speculate on the mental process resulting in the upward tendency of the handle on the cu for the same trend is a marked characteristic of Palestini jugs and juglets. We are not sufficiently removed in tin from the cups of the late 19th and 20th centuries, to recogni the typical and commonest forms, but no one will conte the predominance of the "utility" cup of 1950, nor can th fail to agree that it is far removed from the elegant vess of the last two centuries. It is also instructive to see ho many distinct phases are apparent in just over a centu

Given a sufficient amount and variety of material from ancient site, it is comprehensible that any group of associat objects can be placed in its correct sequence according to t proportionate increase or decrease of various forms. If look at our own china cupboards, for instance, they conta pieces used by our parents and our grandparents, but m of the tea-cups—and this is the important point—in t shops and on our shelves came from the potteries in the l decade.

If careful statistics had been kept recording the inciden of the main classes of lamps or any other common form in stratified deposits throughout Palestine, it would now be easy matter to correlate the material and reach a prov synthesis. Assuming that we can place in order the ceran contents of associated groups from tombs or city levels, th the whole series can be related with the help of a few fi points to the history of Judah, which is of all histories one the most familiar to us through the detailed records of Old Testament.

Starkey's work at Tell ed-Duweir between 1932–1 provided the first, but not the second of these requireme Less than a dozen multiple tomb chambers contai between them many hundreds of burials, each provided w pottery and personal ornaments. Bowls, lamps, jugs

glets are the commonest forms and they can be placed in
der according to their shape and frequency. This is a step
ward because it is the first time that enough tombs groups
ve been found of Iron Age date to make such a close
vision possible. It now remains to fix the whole series in
chronological setting based on historical events. In order
do so, geography and topography must also be considered.

Tell ed-Duweir lies close to the southern extremity of the
ngdom, some twenty-five miles south-west of Jerusalem.
om the summit of the mound on a western spur of the
daean foothills, the whole expanse of the Philistine plain is
sible, though the site is completely hidden from afar. In
e words of Jeremiah applied to an unnamed place it is
Inhabitress of the valley, Rock of the plain" (Jeremiah
i, 13).

There is no doubt that it was the most considerable
rtified city in the southern kingdom, possibly even larger
an Jerusalem itself, estimated at 11½ acres (C.A.H.,
l. III p. 344,). The area within the walls was 18 acres,
uble the size of any other site in Judah. The commanding
e of Tell es-Safi, which may represent the town of Libnah,
vers 9 acres ; Tells Beit Mirsim, er-Rumeileh ('Ain Shems)
d en-Nasbeh are each between 7 and 8 acres, while Tell
-Judeideh is 6½ acres and Tell Sandahannah and Tell
akariyeh are less than 5 acres.

Sites of comparable size are hard to find in Israel. Tell el-
utesellim (Megiddo), holding the vital pass for Syria,
vered 15 acres within its walls, while Sebastiyeh (Samaria),
pital of the northern kingdom, was about the same size.

Tell Jezer alone covers the same area, and it is securely
entified as the site of Gezer by the presence of boundary
ones inscribed in Hebrew and Greek. This great indepen-
ent city state was conquered by an Egyptian Pharaoh who
esented it to Solomon as part of his daughter's dowry.
he equality in size to Tell ed-Duweir suggests that we should
ok for the name of an ancient city as prominent in history as
ezer, in order to identify the site. The place which
esents itself most forcibly in this connection is *L-k-š* or

Lakišu, so frequently mentioned in Assyrian and Biblic record, and already prominent in the 15th-14th centu correspondence of Tell el-Amarna as *Lakiša*.

Firstly, what references are there to the city and wh position does it hold in the political history of Judah ?

At the close of the Bronze Age, about 1200 B.C., five kin of the Amorites formed a league against Joshua :—

“ . . . the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the ki of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, the king of Eglon, gather themselves together, and went up, they and all their hos and encamped before Gibeon and made war against i (Joshua x, 5).

After the defeat of this coalition, Japhia, king of Lachi with the other kings, was hanged at Makkedah, and Josh advanced southwards :—

“ And the Lord delivered Lachish into the hand of Isra which took it on the second day, and smote it with the ed of the sword, and all the souls that were therein.” (Josh x, 32.)

“ Then Horam king of Gezer came up to help Lachis and Joshua smote him and his people, until he had left h none remaining.” (v. 33.)

“ And from Lachish Joshua passed unto Eglon . . . a they took it on that day and smote it with the edge of t sword . . . according to all that he had done to Lachisl (v. 34–5.)

About 925 B.C. Lachish was included among fifteen cit fortified by Rehoboam :—

“ And he fortified the strongholds, and put captains them, and store of victual and of oil and wine.”

“ And in every several city he put shields and spears a made them exceeding strong . . . ” (II Chronicles xi, 11–1

A century later :—

“ Now after the time that Amaziah did turn away fr following the Lord, they made a conspiracy against him Jerusalem ; and he fled to Lachish : but they sent to Lach r him and slew him there." (II Chronicles xxv, 27 and Kings xiv, 19.)

From the Assyrian annals, Sennacherib's campaign is y closely dated to 700 B.C. and it is also described in Kings, II Chronicles and Isaiah :—

"Now in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah did nnacherib king of Assyria come up against all the fenced es of Judah, and took them." (II Kings xviii, 13.)

(The account in Chronicles does not admit that the cities re taken—the phrase is "thought to win them for himself.").

"And Hezekiah king of Judah sent to the king of syria to Lachish saying, I have offended ; return from : that which thou puttest on me will I bear . . .

And Hezekiah gave him all the silver that was found in house of the Lord . . .

And the king of Assyria sent Tartan and Rabsaris and bshakeh from Lachish to King Hezekiah with a great host ainst Jerusalem." (II Kings xviii, 14-17.)

The account in Chronicles adds a note in brackets but he *himself laid siege* against Lachish and all his power th him)."

The Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire l. I, Letter 218, J. Waterman), includes a letter from e Nergalballit to the king :—

"As for the Philistines, from whom the king my lord s organized a contingent of five troops (and) given them me, now they are before me. They are *stationed* in the y of Lachish . . ."

The passage may have been written after the capture the city by Sennacherib in 700 B.C. or some 25 years later nen Esarhaddon campaigned against Egypt. Anyhow it ows that Lachish, like Megiddo and Ammon, and probably her chief cities, was under Assyrian control in the 7th ntury B.C.—an unpleasant fact which would not be nphasised in Biblical record.

The collapse of Assyrian power in 612 B.C. gave cities of Palestine a short respite, but the Babylonians little time in regaining control. Nebuchadnezzar led campaigns, one in 598 and a second between 589—587 It is probably to the second of these that the follow passage refers :—

“ When the king of Babylon's army fought agai Jerusalem, and against all the cities of Judah that were against Lachish, and against Azekah : for these defen cities remained of the cities of Judah.” (Jeremiah xxxiv,

Lines 10–13 on the reverse of Lachish Letter IV relevant in this connection :—

“ and will know that for the signals of Lachish we watching, according to all the indications which my hath given, because we do not see (the signals of) Azeka

Let me state at once that I am in full agreement w those scholars who do not see any proof in this passage t Tell ed-Duweir can be identified with Lachish (QS 19 p. 148). I support the identification for different reasons

In my opinion the case for the identity of Tell ed-Duw with Lachish is strong because Tell ed-Duweir is the larg site in Judah and Lachish was the most important strongh during the last centuries of the kingdom.[1]

Lest you should be dazzled by the grandeur and m nificence of ancient cities, may I remind you that the sma towns are comparable in area to that covered by the Hou of Parliament (8 acres) while Tell ed-Duweir is 6 acres lar than the Tower of London (12 acres).

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[1] Strong evidence is afforded by the statement of Eusebius in Onomast that Lakeis stood at the seventh milestone on the way from Eleuthero (Beit Jibrin) to Daroma, a distance which brings the traveller wi sight of the Roman settlement at Khirbet Duweir (*see* Garstang, *Jo Judges*, p. 173). The line of a road, marked by stones, was visible in valley north of the ancient mound. About 50 cms. below the pre ground surface, sections of a well-built road were exposed, bordered a footpath and drainage channels. The presence of a “ crossbow ” fi and numerous coins of the IVth cent. A.D. make it extremely prob that the road is that to which Eusebius referred.

Having discussed the historical and geographical setting, ıs consider the historical facts. In common with most so far examined in south Palestine, excavation has red that Tell ed-Duweir suffered wholesale destruction ne end of the Bronze Age, of which the last phase had ı distinguished by great prosperity and a close connection ı the Egyptian empire.

Marked by a heavy layer of burning, this destruction ırred in the early decades of the 12th century B.C. and followed as at most sites by a period of stagnation.

Tell Beit Mirsim is a useful exception to the general rule. re Professor Albright has revealed stratified deposits and above the burnt city (C) containing wares which retain ıy characteristics of the Late Bronze Age pottery forms ı simplified painted decoration. He divides city (B) into e phases; and the Philistine wares with birds and spirals nted in black and red are confined to the middle phase, ch dates between 1150–1000 B.C.

It is clear that the Philistines had no lasting hold on our . The distinctive pottery so generally attributed to these ple is also found at Tell Jemmeh and Tell el-Fara to the th, Ascalon on the sea coast, and Tells Sandahannah, Safi, er-Rumeileh and en-Nasbeh to the north, yet only ee sherds were recovered from the central site of Tell Duweir after six seasons' work.

On the western edge of the mound, where a trial cut was de through the Iron Age deposits, very few sherds of any d came from the ground above the burnt Bronze Age city, l none were found to match the beautiful red burnished res—chiefly deep bowls with thick inturned rims—which re recovered from one brick building partly exposed at south-east corner of the palace-fort.

el VI

There are actually two brick buildings at the south-east ner, partly superimposed, and neither of them was parently affected by fire. The lower building, of which ee long narrow rooms were visible, continued under the stone wall of palace C and contained pottery whic comparable to Structure III of the Fosse Temple, the b surface levels of the cutting on the north-east side, and burnt levels 10 ft. below the surface in the trial trench on west side. This central building at least escaped the gen conflagration which destroyed the rest of the city.

Level V

Cut through the brick walls of the lower building w several pits and they contained sherds which are compar to those from Tell Beit Mirsim C and B^1, but the majo are typical of B^3 and of Tell el-Ful periods I and II. contents of the pits are similar to the sherds in the fillin the second brick building extending south of the mass wall which runs parallel to and under the south wall palace B—C. This wall, 2 m. wide, reappears west of palace, and was rebuilt in stone in Level IV—III.

It is perhaps to Level V that the single square block Palace A should belong near the northern extremity of Bronze Age structure. These ruins were encased in sto massive roughly-hewn boulders, rising over 7 m. above th foundations. The central part was filled in with clay hard earth kept in place by interior walls or casemates, whole forming an impressive platform on which the sup structure of the first Iron Age building was presumably bu The podium is, in my opinion, a fine example of a " mill such as David built at Jerusalem. The root meaning of Hebrew word is "filling" or "that which is filled in", there is a similar word in Assyrian.

Level IV

The next phase of occupation is visible in the west tren There were some fragments of burnished wares but th were not numerous or early in the development of technique. Recognisable pottery fragments belong to middle tombs (224, 1004, 1002, 120), and shapes commor the earlier large groups are hardly represented.

The brick city wall founded on one course of stone was set o this occupational level at 257·88 m., and Late Bronze e sherds were fairly common up to about a metre above foundations. As the wall conformed to the edge of the rp, a foundation trench was unnecessary, and it is likely t some city rubbish was cleared away to provide a flat face for the construction. Along the inner side there is arently a lining of rectangular stone slabs, somewhat niniscent of the slabs embellished by reliefs in Assyrian ldings. The stone seen in section on the plan (Plate XIV) ver 2 metres high, but there is unfortunately no sign that s decorated or inscribed.

The scarcity of pottery forms and burnished sherds aracteristic of the earlier tombs and of Level V in this rginal area does suggest that the city was confined within aller limits, and that the massive wall, parallel to the south ll of Palace B—C, was the outer enclosure of the 12th–– h century city.

If we adhere to the literary evidence that the brick wall the western scarp was part of the fortifications initiated by hoboam in 925 B.C., we should have to admit that it ntinued in use until Sennacherib's destruction in 700 B.C., the brick wall is associated with the brick gate tower ding into the city of Level III.

On the whole this date is satisfactory, as it can be ntrolled by the appearance of wheel-burnished pottery at ll ed-Duweir and elsewhere.

Introduction of Wheel Burnish

ll Beit Mirsim (AASOR XII, pl. 31, 1–33, par. 89).

Silo 40 end of period B left open or partially dug again period A.

“ Majority of sherds belong probably to A^{1}, 900–800, nce they are wheel burnished for the most part.”

'Ain Shems (AS V p. 136 f.) City II b, 950–825.

Burnish characteristic—" by hand in spiral or ch fashion or else on a wheel . . . burnishing over exterior the rim down to about the middle of the side."

Megiddo (M.I p. 164).

Stra. V. Wheel burnish " restricted to a few bowls."

Date :—Lamon and Shipton, 1050–1000 ; Albri 1050–975 ; Crowfoot, 960–870 ; Kenyon, 1000–850.

Stra. IV. Burnish becomes common.

Samaria (verbal information, Miss Kenyon).

No wheel burnish in period I, 880–850. Span represented in period II, III. 850–800. In general period IV.

Tell ed-Duweir.

West trench at 258·34–04 m. " a few sherds," c. Tomb 224, 3 examples.

Tomb 1002 and Level III, burnish becomes common

The use of the wheel to burnish the surface, as well a turn the vessel was introduced after 900 B.C., it was no common use for another half century or more and technique did not completely displace hand burnishing u about 700 B.C.

Level III

We are best informed about the city of Level III, which a part was cleared to the south of the palace-f Some of the walls close to the south wall may have b incorporated from houses built during the occupation Level IV, but the huddle of poorly-constructed roo built over the underlying ramp rising up to the palace had been abandoned with all the domestic equipm owing to destruction by fire. A similar group of stores shops on either side of the road into the city shared the sa fate. In almost every room there were broken handles ments of large storage jars made of a metallic ware. wo cases the jars could be repaired : on one vessel there the stamped impression of a private name, and on the r there was a winged emblem with two words in Hebrew pt.

The significance of the stamps has been discussed by Diringer in the pages of the Quarterly Statement 41 : pp. 38–56, 91–101) ; on palaeographic grounds he uld prefer to date all three classes in the 8th rather than 7th century, which would accord with the suggested ruction by Sennacherib in 700 B.C.

Nothing but a few burnt patches of plastered floor ained of the palace B—C, which stood on the greatly arged podium south of the square block of Palace A. uantity of stamped jar handles came from the floor levels l from the open space on the podium not covered by the r residency. However, east of the palace much burnt ris and fallen brick covered the plastered court, which was act along a large part of the east wall, and a flight of steps s preserved up to half the remaining height of the podium.

On the earlier underlying steps, I was lucky enough to cover on the last day of the last season, five faintly scratched ns, which proved to be the first five letters of the early brew alphabet. Professor Albright and Dr. Diringer are reed that these schoolboy scribblings should be dated to late 9th or early 8th century B.C. Though made of very t stone, neither the earliest nor latest set of three superposed flights were worn, so the later flight contemporary th the plastered court could have been in use about 700 B.C.

With regard to the fortifications of the city at that time, ere is the valuable evidence of the Assyrian field artist's pression of Lachish, depicted with instructive detail on the s-reliefs from the Palace of Nineveh, discovered by H. Layard in 1850 and now preserved in the Assyrian llery of the British Museum. An upper and a lower wall e shown crowning a steep escarpment or stone glacis. Both cuits have towers and battlements and are recessed at gular intervals.

In the lower half of the composition to the left, i isolated tower with projecting parapet manned by bow and slingers, and six non-combatant men and women ar be seen emerging from a door or gate. Is it by any cha the representation of the square stone bastion of which plan is visible at the south-west corner of the mound ?

Unfortunately, the relationship of the tower to the w is obscured on the picture by foreground detail. If tower were actually detached from the lower revetmen 700 B.C., it would confirm that it was only incorporated that line in the following century. A deviation in the of the west wall not far from the bastion, does, indeed, sug some alteration in plan, and there are at least two period repair along the west side.

The archaeological evidence for the constructional c of these magnificent walls will not be conclusive until furt cross sections are made, but both lines were certainly stand when the Assyrians attacked. Hebrew builders were capa of constructions on a grand scale, as attested by the enti Iron Age walls of Tell en-Nasbeh, where a similar meth of construction was employed. (T.N., vol I, pp. 189–2

The fortifications at Tell ed-Duweir consisted of th superimposed blocks or units. Section A contained twe or more rows of enormous boulders, founded on bedr and resting at an angle against Early Middle Bronze A town rubbish.

Above section A was a vertical stone wall (B) of sma stones decreasing in size. Over B was a free-standing br wall (C) about 6 metres wide, recessed in panels along outer face. Whenever there was a rise in the level of underlying rock, the order of these sections became derang and it is quite possible to find the vertical stone wall ab the brick section.

The brick section was heavily coated with a white li plaster, which would have shone and glittered in the s As we found in building the camphouse, the plaster fac was a practical necessity to preserve the mud walls fr ving rain. A passage in Ezekiel is undoubtedly based on er experience :—

> “ . . . one built up a wall, and, lo, others daubed it with empered mortar : Say unto them . . . that it shall fall : re shall be an overflowing shower . . . So will I break vn the wall . . . and bring it to the ground, so that the ndation thereof shall be discovered.”

el II

As a result of the destruction of Level III, the brick wall ich had stood for two centuries was cut down to within etres of its base, and upon the flat upper surface another ll was built of stone blocks, filled in with smaller stones. ly a small section remained in the low lying level of the e, but it included the stone threshold, covered by a burnt posit, also visible on the contemporary road surface inside city. The area formerly occupied by shops and houses Level III was an open space in the next period, very table for the troop formations conscripted by the syrians. The only houses of the period were some lean-to acks against the ruined east wall of the palace-fort. rhaps the most significant discovery was a wine or water , crushed in many pieces. On the shoulder was a half literated early Hebrew inscription beginning with these rds : “ In the ninth . . . ” Though tantalizingly in- mplete, it reminds us that Nebuchadnezzar, King of bylon advanced for the second time against Jerusalem in e ninth year of King Zedekiah's reign (II Kings xxv, 1), d it is generally agreed that Lachish was finally destroyed 588 B.C. though an earlier burnt roadway within the city ay suggest that it suffered some damage in the earlier tack.

The devastation was thorough and complete, and there no indication at present that any rebuilding took place r more than a century. Meanwhile the south Arabian ibes were pushing in from Edom, leaving traces of their esence at Tell ed-Duweir in the deposits of crude chalk tars, one of which is inscribed in Aramaean. Lachish no

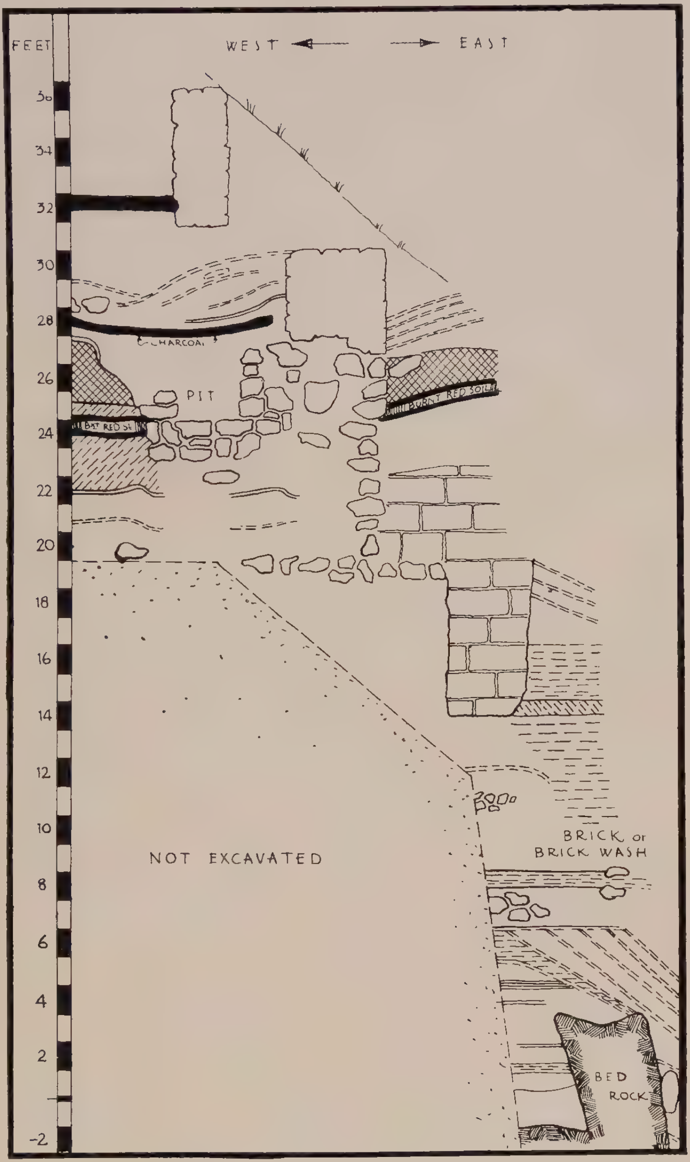
longer formed part of Judah but it was chosen to be
capital of the southern province of Idumaea. The
rulers cleared the fallen burnt brick from the palace platf
and built a well-planned residence on the site, with a spac
court, steps and columns. A bathroom and water clos
infrequent in Palestinian buildings—were also include

The architectural affinities of the residency lead u
Syria. The closest parallel is undoubtedly the central bl
of the topmost building at Arslan Tash (*Arslan Tash*,
F. Thureau-Dangin, A. Barrois, G. Dossin and Mau
Dunand. Paris, 1931), which is itself similar to the ear
" House of Ivories " on the same site. The excavators w
not able to provide close dates or parallels for either buildi
and these two with the residency at Tell ed-Duweir certai
bear no comparison to the Persian palaces at Persep
and Pasargadae.

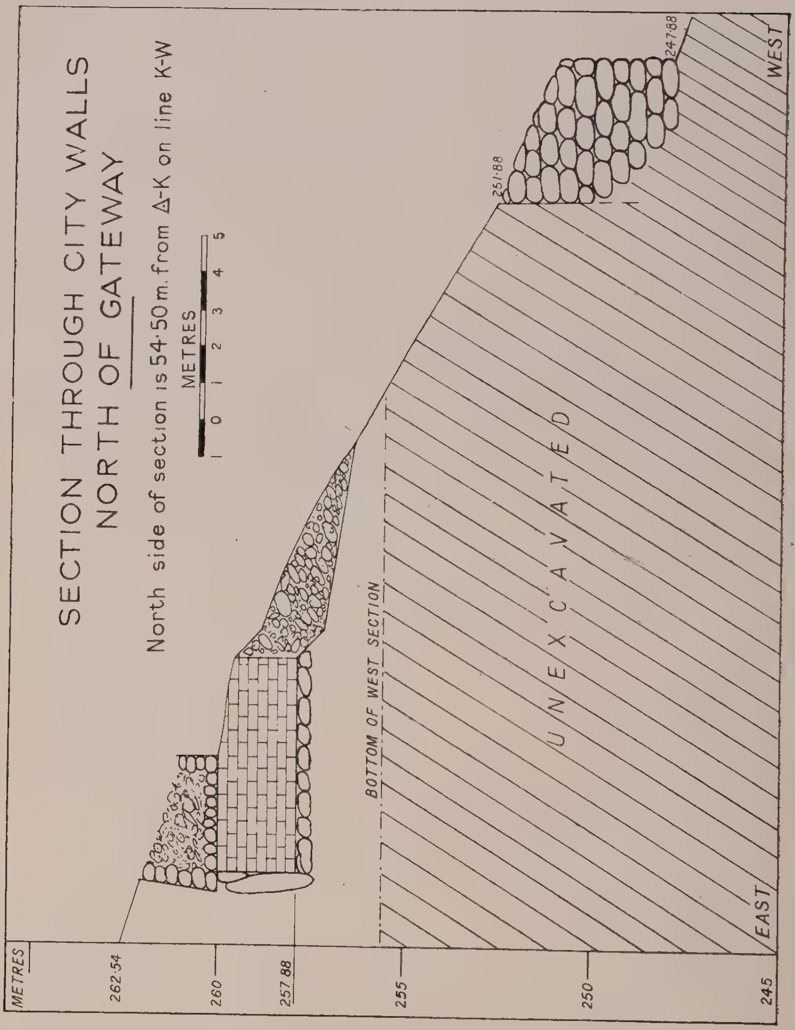
Other less imposing isolated buildings were cleared
Tell ed-Duweir, but I can only mention one which has b
frequently referred to as the " solar shrine " owing to
east to west orientation and the presence of an overtur
altar. I cannot say when it was built, but it was certai
in use as late as the 2nd century B.C. Among the pottery a
other objects in the filling were coins of Antiochus III and

Antiochus the Great became master of Palestine
198 B.C. after defeating Ptolemy IV of Egypt, and it is a cl
reflection of historic events that only coins of the first fo
Ptolemies (*circa* 223–203 B.C.) were recovered from the surfa
of the mound, while coins of the Seleucid kings of Antio
replaced them after that date. Moreover no coins of t
early Maccabaean kings were found (166–103 B.C.), thou
Alexander Jannaeus—who greatly extended the kingdom
was represented. Throughout Roman and Byzantine r
the state of local security is apparently mirrored by the presen
or lack of coins—the sure tokens of economic prosperity.

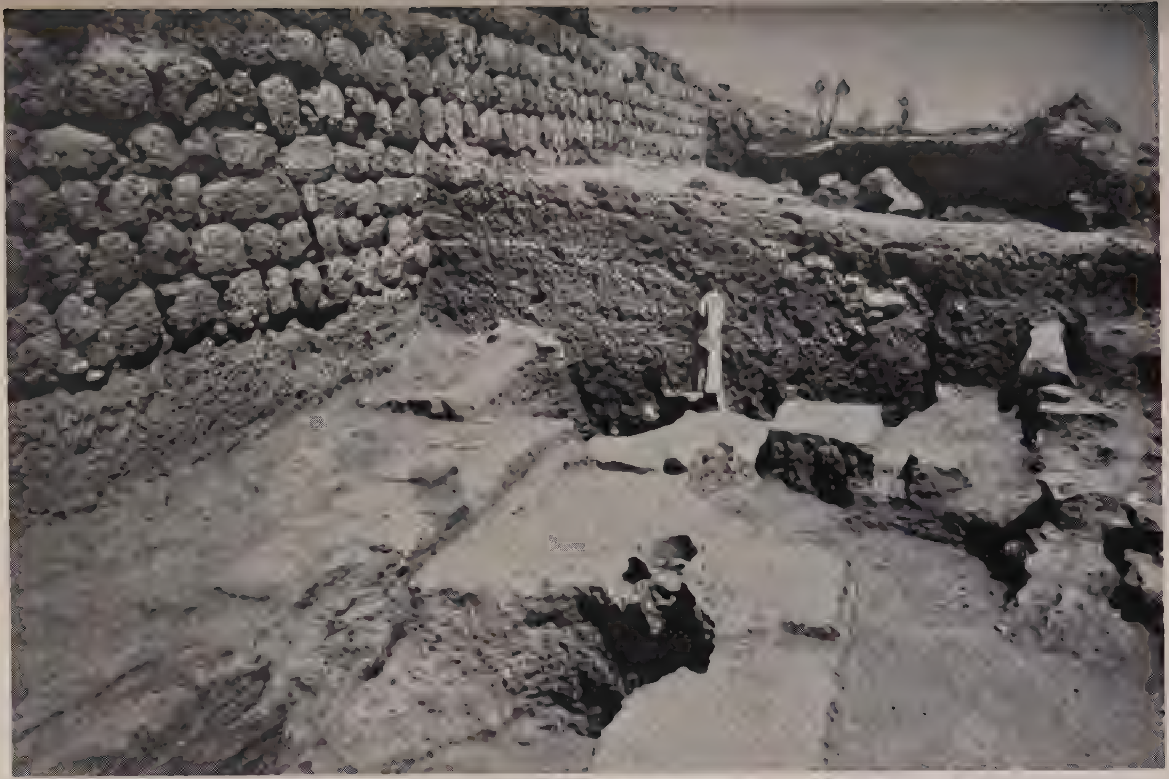
A few milliemes and piastres dropped by our men, so
deposits of tin cans and the razed charred walls of t
Expedition's camphouse now add their insignificant quo
to the long history of the site.


FEET
36
34
32
30
28
26
24
22
20
18
16
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
-2
WEST
EAST
CHARCOAL
PIT
BURNT RED SOIL
BNT RED SL
NOT EXCAVATED
BRICK or BRICK WASH
BED ROCK

Schematic drawing of the stratification, N.-E. side of Tell ed-Duweir from bedrock to the present ground surface at 36 ft. (249 m. above sea level).


SECTION THROUGH CITY WALLS
NORTH OF GATEWAY
North side of section is 54·50 m. from Δ-K on line K-W
METRES
1 0 1 2 3 4 5
BOTTOM OF WEST SECTION
UNEXCAVATED
251·88
247·88
WEST
EAST
METRES
262·54
260
257·88
255
250
245

Sectional drawing of defences on W. side, showing stone wall with rubble filling (Level II) on brick wall with stone foundations (Level III) which was protected by stone footing. Sherds found at bottom of W. section in burnt debris at 37–34 ft. (256–255 m. above sea level) are comparable to the contents of the top layers of the N.–E. section (35–34 ft.)



East side of palace-fort (Palace C wall) looking N.-W., exposed to foundation course. Plaster wall of palace C (Level III) above standing figure is cut through to expose brick building (Late Bronze age—Level VI). Pits intersecting the walls belong to an intermediate period, Level V, also represented by a brick building—not visible in picture

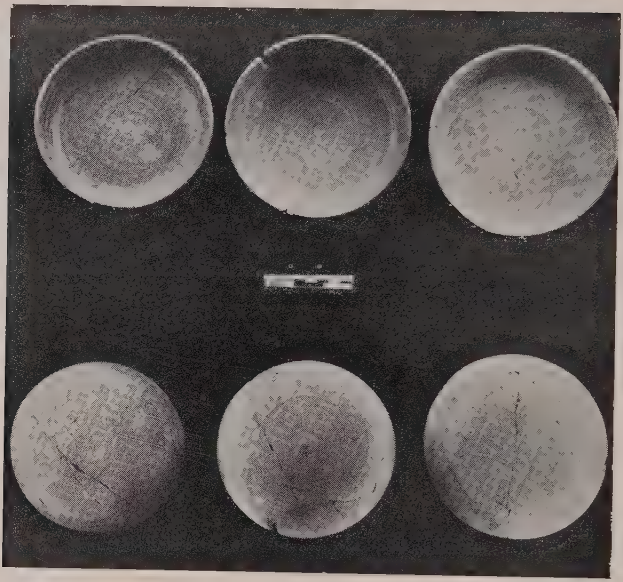


Fig. 1. Inner and outer surface of three round-bottomed bowls from Tombs 223, 224, and 1002 respectively, showing transition from hand to wheel applied burnish. Note that red slip only extends half way down exterior and that there is no exterior burnish on the latest example (right).

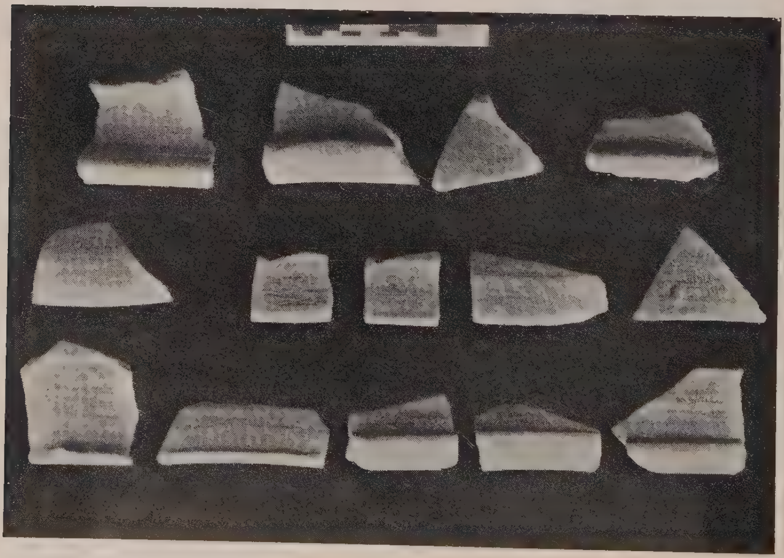
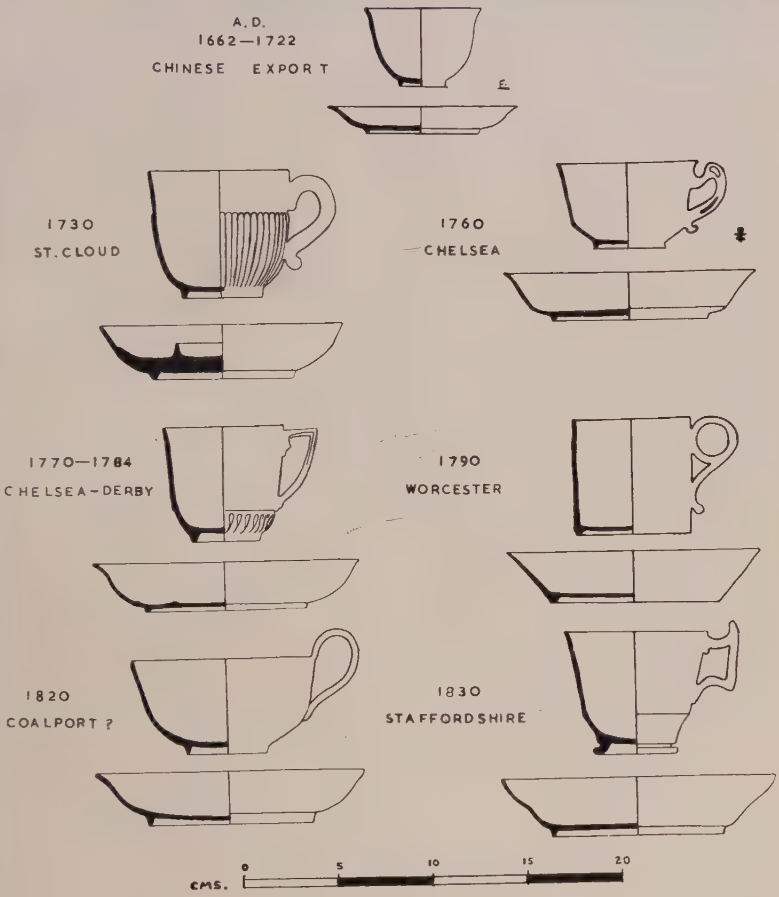


Fig. 2. Typical sherds from pits and building of Level V, including hand-burnish on red slip applied to inner and outer surface of bowls.

THE ORIGIN OF THE TEA-CUP


A. D.
1662—1722
CHINESE EXPORT
1730
ST. CLOUD
1760
CHELSEA
1770—1784
CHELSEA-DERBY
1790
WORCESTER
1820
COALPORT ?
1830
STAFFORDSHIRE
CMS.
0
5
10
15
20

THE CITY DEPOSITS AT TELL ED-DUWEIR A SUMMARY OF THE STRATIFICATION

By B. S. J. Isserlin and Olga Tufnell

In 1932–3 the Wellcome Marston Archaeological Re- rch Expedition to the Near East began excavations at ll ed-Duweir (Lachish) near Qubeibeh in southern lestine, under the directorship of the late Mr. J. L. Starkey. part of the preliminary examination, an exploratory nch about 7 feet wide was cut into the east side of the ound, near the north-east corner. The trench was dug two steps of 18 feet each, under the guidance of Mr. nkester Harding. Soil was removed one foot at a time, d the sherds found were kept separated without any rting until the completion of the task. The area chosen peared to offer particularly favourable conditions for the st.

The sloping edge of the tell had been cut by the Iron Age ilders to provide a flat surface on which the revetment was id, and the massive stones rested against an inclined ction in which horizontal layers of debris were exposed. this point part of the stone revetment founded on the treme edge of the rock had fallen into the valley within ing memory, so that it was not necessary to cut through e otherwise intact line of the fortifications. While a mplete record with precise distinctions, cannot be hoped r in a marginal area, and disturbances and intrusions must expected, and were encountered, the trench appears to ow a valid stratigraphical sequence. As the results may ove interesting not only for the interpretation of the story of Tell ed-Duweir, but also for the wider problems of lestinian archaeology, Miss Tufnell has asked me to prepare short preliminary account for the Quarterly Statement, to followed eventually by the full report in *Lachish IV*.

A schematic drawing of the section accompanies t pages (Plate XIII). It illustrates the main features discove but it should be noted that the several wall systems whi shows in normal section were actually at various angles to other. Further, the drawing is much compressed later neglecting true slope in order to save space. The drawings giving the genuine slope are to form part of final report.

The top of the section at 36 feet, corresponding to a m height above sea level of 249 metres, coincided with the e of the mound, in which the face of a dry stone wall visible. It is probably an Iron Age construction, but c not be investigated, as it lay further inside the mound. top of another dry stone wall was found to conform fa closely to the line of the present tell contours. It was b at 32 feet and there was a definite floor six inches above foundations. Pottery was particularly plentiful just ab the floor between 32–34 feet.

The sherds included Late Bronze Age store jar fragme with splayed base similar to those from the 900 cemeter Tell Fara (CPP 43 H[1] from Tomb 902) " cup and sauc vessels (*cf.* Nos. 179–183 on pl. XLIVB of *Lachish II* small fragment of Mycenaean pottery, a sherd of Cypr White Slip II milkbowl, and decorated sherds adorned w such motives as the palm tree, gazelles, ostriches, and Maltese square, executed in red paint (*cf. Lachish* II, XLVIIIB, Nos. 248–251) for some parallels in decorat

With all these forms it should be safe to ascribe stratum to the same period as the Fosse Temple Structure Compare the parallels quoted above, and in general examples from the phase styled Late Bronze II by Albr and Wright, Late Bronze III by Schaeffer. Like Struct III, this area of the mound perished in a conflagration wh left a thick coating of blackened matter, ashes, and bu brick, etc., on the floor. It appears reasonable to ass

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[1] Above bedrock.

[2] Lachish II, The Fosse Temple by O. Tufnell, C. H. Inge an Harding, O.U.P. 1940.

t both the temple and town perished in the same catas-
ohe which terminated the Late Bronze Age.

Below the wall system based at 32 feet, another wall
nded at 28 feet was discovered, which was preserved to a
ght of 3 feet of good dry stone masonry, about 4 feet wide.
is wall is practically parallel to the tell contours, but it
es not conform to the angle of the upper wall. It is also
ociated with a definite floor at 28 to 28½ feet ; above it
ecially up to 30 feet much pottery was recovered. The
res includes Cypriote Base-ring II sherds, White Slip II
d Monochrome, Late Bronze Age store jar fragments with
bular or splaying bases and cooking pots of the same
riod (*cf. Lachish* II, pl. LVI) as well as many fragments of
ses painted in red or in red and black. This stage should
rrespond to Structure II of the Fosse Temple. It is
eresting to note that while there were no definite signs of a
astic break between Structure II and III, though the floor
el was raised more than 25 inches (*Lachish* II, p. 38),
ere are indications in the north-east section that the part of
e town concerned may have perished violently.

There was a thick patch of charcoal on the floor and
me of the potsherds appear to have been burnt. Streaks of
aster and grey matter descending from the wall seem to
dicate that the crumbling ruins were left to decay for some
ne. A period of partial intermission between the end of
is stratum, and the beginning of the one above, must
erefore, in this area at least, be considered as a possibility.

[*Note.* Another suggestion must be considered in this
nnection. A notable feature of the cemetery areas 4000 and
oo, which were situated on the lower slopes of the mound near
e north-east corner, was a black sooty deposit, seen on the
posed rock and soil. It was at first thought to be a burnt
yer, but it was found to have penetrated far into certain
mb chambers (Tomb 4004 was particularly affected)—a
ct which was inconsistent with the results of conflagration.
amples were submitted to Mr. Reifenberg of the Soil Science
aboratory in the Hebrew University. He reported that
e black sooty material consisted of decayed organic matter,

and that in all probability it did not represent a burnt la The tomb included several scarabs of XVIIIth. dynasty k and adjoining groups contained others of Rameside d therefore the tombs could not have been closed much be the end of the Late Bronze Age.

As the sooty material was not identified in 1933 when section was dug, it was not recorded as differing from usual signs of burning, but the possibility exists tha covered part of the N–E section, and had spread from th to the cemetery areas.—*Olga Tufnell.*

At 28 feet below the floor just described but perh coinciding with it elsewhere, there was a plastered f surface. A stone-lined pit, 3 feet wide, and nearly 2 deep, which was covered by the charcoal patch appear communicate with this floor. While it is possible that floors and pit may antedate the wall system equated w Temple Structure II, it is more probable that they contemporary with it, particularly in view of the conte For the wares discovered in the pit were chiefly Late Bro Age fragments (with a few Middle Bronze Age she admixed). Decorated fragments included a sherd pain with thin red and black horizontal lines, and others monochrome, some ornamented with the " wriggle " mot There was part of a Late Bronze Age store jar base pieces of a Base-ring II jug, with fragments of a lentoid f of fine red slipped polished ware. Level 27 furnis similar items, including a Base-ring sherd, part of a cook pot and another store jar base. The analogies of all th point again to Temple Structure II. The pit contained addition to the pottery, a scarab of Amenhotep II (14 1425 B.C.) providing a *terminus a quo* for the cultural ph (Schaeffer's Late Bronze II) here represented. It see worth recalling that a plaque of Amenhotep III (14 1375 B.C.) was found underneath the foundations of Tem Structure II—it offers a similar if somewhat lower ini date for that edifice.

While the stratification up to this point has been co paratively simple, it becomes rather complicated in the lo els. The plaster at 28 feet seals off a solid mass of burnt ck and red brick wash which reaches down to about -25½ feet. At a somewhat varying level, but at an rage depth of 25 feet the pile of debris covers red brick th looking like a floor, affected by fire, but at some points re is still more red brick wash underneath, down to a inite white plaster floor line at about 22½ feet. Another sible floor (indicated by streaks of grey matter) is preserved ow. At 20 feet a line of stones, possibly the remnant of ne walling, may indicate another stage. Below this come eaks of grey, and brown brick wash ; it is difficult to say at they mean, or to indicate any certain floor. There y have been floors at about 17, 15½ and 12½ feet. A stout ck wall or revetment is an important feature of these ers : its top reaches 23 feet, the lower courses, laid at proximately 14 feet, were placed in a prepared trench.

While Late Bronze sherds occur in small quantities down 17 feet and Early Bronze fragments, largely comminuted ces, reach up to 26 feet, levels 12–26 feet show nevertheless predominance of Middle Bronze II wares. There appears be, in this part of the tell, no building stratum clearly ntifiable with Late Bronze I (1600/1550–1450 according Schaeffer) intervening between Middle Bronze and Late onze II. Small fragments of the polychrome pottery so pical of this period (*cf. Lachish* II, pl. XLIXB : 256, pl. XI : 3) do indeed occur in the section, but they are isolated d scattered over widely separated levels. The Middle onze Age pottery found in levels between 26 and 21 feet is, oadly speaking, similar to the wares of Tell Beit Mirsim D and other Middle Bronze IIB strata. There were eled and S-profiled bowls, store-jar rims and handles of ll-known types, cooking pot fragments, remains of pitchers. any sherds from 21 feet upwards were affected by fire ; ey testify, like the burnt layers above the floor at 21 feet which they were found, that Middle Bronze in this region the tell ended in catastrophe.

Wares below 21 feet corresponding to earlier stages of iddle Bronze, still show many forms similar to those outlined above. With them there are others which could compared to Middle Bronze IIA (Mirsim G–F and sim strata) but it is doubtful if the stratification at Duweir allow a strict division. Thus pottery painted in red black on a white lime wash, typical of Tell Beit Mirsim G (AASOR XIII, pp. 69, 18) occurred at 22 and 21 feet in section together with Middle Bronze IIB wares. A Cypri White Painted III or IV sherd, found in the 18 feet le deserves to be noticed as an early foreign importation.

Middle Bronze sherds cease being important below 12 apart from occasional intrusive specimens. The 12 feet le produced the base of a very well-made red slipped polished button base juglet, and possibly the neck of anot similar vessel made of grey-black slipped ware. Otherw this layer, like the 11 feet level beneath it was extrem poor ; hardly anything was found, apart from a few Ea Bronze Age pottery fragments. Stratigraphically also th layers were indistinct. They seem to suggest that in region of the tell at least, there was a partial intermiss between Middle Bronze II and the preceding period.

Between 10 and 9 feet a sudden increase in the numbe potsherds was recorded. Brick or brick wash appearing places at a similar height, may indicate the decayed ruin buildings. There is in any case a definite floor at ab 8½ feet. The room of which it formed part had been used a potter's workshop, where lumps of clay and an unfinish hole-mouth pot were still in position on the floor. Und neath it there was a mass of fallen stone, mostly concentra at 8–7 feet, but sloping down in places. The mass sugg the remains of a collapsed structure situated within mound, the debris of which had trailed down the slo Below it again, there was apparently a tip heap ; ma of trailing, oblique, or roughly horizontal matter are hea up, from a base level at about 5 feet to a flat surface at 7 f Below 5 feet bedrock appeared in places but fell away t greater depth on the outer slope. Cavities, partly or wh artificial, contained horizontal streaks of plaster or ot matter which indicate human habitation.

The pottery found in levels 10–1 is again largely homo-
eous if a few intrusions are disregarded. It belongs to
cultural phase of Early Bronze which is encountered at
icho (Tomb A), Tell Beit Mirsim J, " Pre-Semitic " Gezer
l elsewhere, and has been called Early Bronze III by
aeffer. Hole-mouth jars, combed ware, pattern burnish,
-spouted bowls, pushed-up ledge handles and other
racteristic forms prove the connection. The same
ilisation appears to persist throughout from 10 to 1 feet
ve the rock.

There is no clear indication in the section to suggest the
stence of Middle Bronze I—which is well known from the
nb groups—though a few sherds of friable pink slipped
re at 10 and 9 feet could perhaps belong to an inter-
diate phase. In spite of a few types which could be
ler than Early Bronze III, there is no cogent evidence for
occupation of this region of the mound at an earlier date.
the other hand, the 2 and 1 feet levels produced two small
ces of Khirbet Kerak ware, though other fragments were
ind in the 8–6 feet layers.

Summary of Stratification in north-east section

	End of Late Bronze Age by burning.
–32 ft. . .	Late Bronze Age III. *Cf.* Fosse Temple, Structure III.
. .	End of stratum by burning : intermission ?
	or, deposit of black sooty organic material ?
–28 ft. . .	Late Bronze II. *Cf.* Fosse Temple, Structure II.
ft. and pit	Late Bronze II containing scarab of Amenhotep II, *circa* 1450–1425 B.C.
	Intermission ? No evidence for a Late Bronze I stratum.

	End of Middle Bronze Age by burning.
26–21 ft. ..	Middle Bronze IIB.
20–12 ft. ..	Middle Bronze II (A and B ?).
12–11 ft. ..	Intermission ? No evidence for a Mid Bronze Age I stratum.
10–8 ft. ..	An Early Bronze III stratum.
8–5 ft. ..	Several Early Bronze III phases.
4–0 ft. ..	Early Bronze III in rock cavities.

West Section

Mr. Isserlin has presented a clear view in the forego pages of the city deposits accumulated on the north-east s of the mound from bedrock to a height of 32 feet, or surface level at about 249 metres above sea level. complete the survey it was necessary to make another on the opposite side of the mound, where later Iron A deposits were known to exist. The same system of exami tion was employed, and it continued until the same bu layer of Late Bronze Age destruction exposed on the surfa in the north-east section was reached at the bottom of t west trench. The two sections provided between them continuous stratification with a total depth of 17 metr allowing for a deduction of 60 centimetres, representing overlap of two layers (2 feet) common to both trenches.

In order to maintain continuity, the layers in the w section are numbered from 34–35 feet (Late Bronze A destruction) upwards to present ground level at 56 feet 262·54 metres above sea level. The layers can be relat to certain buildings and deposits within the city, and the connections will be discussed as they arise.

A sherd count of the contents in the west section was mo informative than the stratification, which showed no clear marked floors or burnt layers, suggesting perhaps a stea rate of rubbish accumulation in the marginal area near t city gate.

	Tentative Summary of West Section	*Fragments*	
		LB or earlier	Totals
el I ft. to 52 ft.	*Circa* 450–350 B.C. Top of stone city wall Levels I–II. Present ground surface at 56 ft. (262·54 m.). Inner gate sill at 261·44 m. Contained fragments of soft orange paste jars (*cf.* Tell Abu Hawam, *ODAP IV* p. 4, fig. 3, typical of Stratum II late 6th-early 4th century B.C.; *Gerar*, pl. LVI, type 47 H) *circa* 600 B.C.; (*Tsambres and Aphendrika* by E. Dray and J. du Plat Taylor, Fig. 26, Tomb 38, 1, 4, 4th century B.C.). Unribbed mortaria (*cf. Gerar* Pl. XLVIII : 7^{c} ; *Tell en-Nasbeh*, Vol. II, pl. 59 : 1357 ; *Tsambres and Aphendrika*, fig. 42 : 11 ; *Mersin* LAAA XXVI, 107, pl. LII : 1 ; Tell Sheykh Zuweyyid-*Anthedon*, pl. XXXII 8R3; *Naukratis* I, p. 18–20, pl. IV : 2 ; *Vroulia*, pl. 23 : 8 ; Al Mina—British Museum collection ; *Ayia Irini*—SCE II, pl. CLXXXVII : 2747 ; *Gezer* III, pl. CLXXIV : 5). Fragment Rhodian handle ?	3	84
evel II ft. to 50 ft.	*Circa* 700–600 B.C. and later. Sparse occupation in the area, few sherds. Level II inner gate sill at 260·38 m. Base of stone city wall Levels I–II at 48 ft. (260 m.) on brick wall of Level III.		

49 ft. to 48 ft.	Contained storage jar fragments of reddish-grey metallic ware similar to those found in the guardroom of the city on which the Lachish Letters were written, ware also comparable to that of jars with stamped handles. One wheel and five hand-burnished sherds.	11	156
Level III	*Circa* 920–700 B.C.		
47 ft. to 43 ft.	Contained storage jar fragments as above. Contained bowls (*cf.* *Tell Beit Mirsim* I, pls. 61–63 ; TBM III, pl. 22, all Stra. A 9th–7th century ; *Tell el-Ful* III c. 750–589 B.C.[2]). Contained part of semi-disk base lamp (*cf.* *'Ain Shems* pt. V, p. 141, " not added before the 9th century " and pt. IV, pl. LXVII : 20, 23). Three wheel and eleven hand-burnished sherds. Base of brick city wall at 41 ft. (257·88 m.).	14	322
Level IV	*Circa* 920 B.C. and earlier.		
42 ft. to 38 ft.	Contained only four fragments metallic ware as above at 42 ft. Majority of storage jar fragments of coarse pink ware, fired medium to hard, similar to ware of jars in early tomb groups. (*cf.* *'Ain Shems IV*, pl. LXV : 43, " typical of IIa " 1000–950 B.C. Jug fragments common. Three to four wheel and thirteen to fourteen hand-burnished sherds—the wheel-burnished sherds were at 42 ft.	38	634

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[2] See Annual, American School of Oriental Research IV, XII XXI-XXII.

vel V	Apparently not represented in west section—see sherds from south wall of palace-fort (Plate XVI, fig. 2, see above p. 74).		
vel VI ft. to 34 ft.	A marked change in the quality of ware occurred at 37 ft. ; it was grey rather than brown or red, medium fired with some cream slip. Layers 37 and 36 contained few fragments and no identifiable Iron Age forms, or red burnished sherds. Some were slightly smoked.	26	258
	At 35–34 ft. in burnt debris the sherds were similar to those found in the burnt surface levels of the north-east section. Types comparable to *Lachish* II examples—21, 30, 50, 90, 91, 95, 96 ,151, 162, 303, 364, 387. There were decorated pieces, bowls with red line on rim (*cf.* hieratic inscription bowl QS, Oct. 1937) and lattice pattern fragments, all of which are common in Structure III of the Fosse Temple.		

SOME ARCHÆOLOGICAL NEWS FROM ISRA

By B. S. J. Isserlin

The Department of Antiquities of the new state of Isra
was formally created on 26th July, 1948. It found its
faced with a situation where considerable tasks lay befo
it at once. The highly destructive war following the en
of the British mandate did not except archæological colle
tions and monuments from the toll it took—thus, *e.g.*, t
house of the Oriental Institute of Chicago at Megiddo o
time lay in the fighting zone, and its collection was large
dispersed. Furthermore, with the drastic transformation
scenery now being rapidly effected all over Israel (o
villages or townships disappearing, and new settlement
roads, railways, etc., being laid out elsewhere) the prese
moment is of great importance : active care is needed t
preserve the heritage of the past, and much that is observab
now may soon be inaccessible. The department, beside
giving its attention to the tasks at present arising out of th
general situation, also hopes gradually to effect a complet
archæological survey of Israelite territory. This would
course be of the highest general interest also for biblic
research, etc., and would be the first complete survey of thi
kind since the days of Kitchener and Conder, as events i
the late 'thirties unfortunately frustrated similar plans of th
British School of Archæology in Jerusalem.

The organisation of the Department is at present (1949
as follows : S. Yeivin, director ; I. Ben-Dor, deputy-director
P. L. O. Guy, director of excavations ; P. Kahane, control o
local museums (see infra) ; Miss M. Cassuto, librarian
The headquarters of the Department are now in the forme
Olivette House, Jerusalem (25, Koresh Street). Under thi
central administration, Israelite territory is divided into fou
inspectorates : South (J. Ory), North [Mrs. Ruth Amira

randsteter-Kallner)], Jerusalem area (vacant), Coastal ea (temporarily Dr. I. Ben-Dor). Mr. Avi-Yonah and r. Pinkerfeld, originally on the strength, have since left : e former to take a post in another department ; the latter d to resign owing to ill-health.

The greatest handicaps (besides limited funds unavoidable a small state with very large overall commitments) in chæological work are at present the lack of a really good rary, and the impossibility of access to the Palestine useum and the Hebrew University buildings, besides such mnants of the war as minefields or scattered mines and other pediments to field work in many districts of Israel.

The Department publishes a Hebrew bulletin, chiefly dressed to its local trustees (v. infra). The publication a journal in both Hebrew and a European language is nder preparation.

An interesting fact is the very considerable amount of neral interest for things archæological among the wider ublic in Israel (looking for potsherds, etc., is a widespread hobby ") and the way in which the administration makes se of it. All over the country people with archæological terests have been appointed " trustees " by the Department. Their duties include notification of, and first measures the preservation and care of, finds in their district, etc., nd general collaboration. Similar trustees have been ppointed also in the Israelite army. To assist the trustees n intensive (voluntary) course lasting several days and vering Palestinian archæology from the Stone Age to ediaeval times was arranged by the Department in ollaboration with the Cultural Committee of the " Histadruth," members of the Department lecturing each on his ecial subject with the aid of specimens and lantern slides, tc. The audience evidently took the course very seriously, s the writer (who was kindly permitted to attend) can estify. Similarly regional congresses and study excursions ere arranged in collaboration with the Department and an xcellent exhibition covering Palestinian archæology and

the work of the Department drew large crowds, first
Tel Aviv and later in Jerusalem.

Largely owing to private interest, what promises to becom
a network of regional or local archæological museums h
gradually been coming into existence, though there, too, th
war has retarded progress. Thus Tel Aviv district is cover
by " Beth Sevivatenu," maintained by the " Histadruth "
the collection of Dr. W. Moses is also destined for public us
Elsewhere, the collections in " Beth Sturman," Tel Josef an
Ein-Harod near Affuleh, and at Tell Adashim nearby, a
Sedoth Yam, near Cæsarea, are among those well wor
visiting, besides what the war left of the collection at Sha'
Haggolan near Deganyah. Previous arrangement is how
ever advisable, as it may otherwise not be possible to vi
some of the above.

The Jesuit Pontifical Institute with a good collecti
from Tuleilat Ghassul is also on Israelite territory.

In the following pages a brief survey is given of wh
appear to be the main archæological discoveries and oth
points of interest since the end of the Mandate. The auth
has to thank the Department of Antiquities of Israel f
permission to translate and reproduce part of the informatio
contained in their " Bulletin." [1] In several cases full
information is available in the Hebrew press and learne
periodicals ; some of the ground covered here has also bee
surveyed recently in the American Journal of Archæology.

Already in 1945 fossil elephant teeth and bones we
found, together with palæolithic hand axes, in a plough
field near 'Evron between Akko and Nahariah. The si
has since been trenched by Dr. M. Stekelis of the Hebre
University. According to his report in the " Bulletin " th
find area, 36 m. above sea level, extends over several hundre
square yards ; stratigraphy is as follows : A, black earth
62 cms. B, red sandy soil with grains of Kurkar, 62 cms.-
1 m. C, Kurkar sandstone from 1 m. downwards. All th

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[1] Any errors caused in translating are of course the responsibili
of the author.

ds, consisting of flint tools and fossil elephant bones and
lar fragments, were confined to A. The industry, besides
res and flakes, included small hand-axes (5–15 cms.) of
ate, piriform, and discoid shapes and good workmanship.
ese tools appeared to be in situ : there were no signs of
lling. Dr. Stekelis would attribute the culture in question
the upper Acheulean-Micoquian. He would classify
ds recently made elsewhere, and submitted to him, as
lows : El Bassa (N.E. Galilee) : Upper Palæolithic.
as en Naqura : Ghassulian. Akhzib (ez Zib) : a station
Chalcolithic and Early Bronze. Aphikim near the
rdan : flints and pottery of Ghassulian type. A palæo-
hic station at Ma'yan Barukh was also further investigated.

Other finds, largely due to the work of the "trustees"
mong whom N. Zori of Tel Yosef, Y. Roth of Sha'ar
agolan, and A. Wagman of Sedot Yam appear to be
rticularly active) include : the finding of Esdraelon "grey
rnished" ware at K. Mazar near the Western end
Mt. Gilboa, and of EB sherds, including Kh. Kerak ware,
Ain el Meiteh near Zer'in, and near Zer'in itself ; of
halcolithic (including a bird vase) and up to M. Iron
T. Musa near Gesher (Jisrel Mujami'a) and of EB (in-
uding "band slip ware") up to Iron at T. er Ridhgha,
uth of Beisan. Near Kefar Ruppin, two small sites (both
lled Khuza) have furnished Chalcolithic and EB respec-
vely. Hawary near Abuqa possesses EB II sherds ;
. Sheikh Hasan not far from T. Yosef furnished EB, MB I–II,
ichrome of the kind found at the transition from MB to
B, LB, and Iron. At T. Qisan 2 km. south of Mt. Tabor,
number of small mounds were investigated : finds indicated
ttlement during EB (there was also some Kh. Kerak ware),
IB, and up to Iron. T. Safsafa near Endor showed sherds
f EB and Iron I and II. Other data were gathered about
. Wawiyat in the Buttof (Big'at Beth Netofa). MB and
ron Qurun Hattin (EB, LB including Cypriote sherds,
ron I and II), Kefar Etta (traces of EB). T. el Quneitrah
EB, Iron), Akhzib (MB), T. el Fukhar near Akko (MB II,
ncluding part of an Egyptian alabastron, scarabs and

fayence), besides part of a Mycenæan vase, T. Qatana, i Naharaim (Bronze Age sherds). Bronze Age sherds we also gathered at T. el Ful near Shahme. At Mikhmore near Khedera rainwash produced from underneath t heaps of stone various LB finds, stated to include a fibu arrow head, and nail, also part of a Mycenæan false spout jar, and some bowls. Several Middle Bronze tombs we found and cleared, three forming part of a cemetery sou of Tel Aviv harbour, another which included a Cypri juglet near Dizengof Road, Tel Aviv, and yet another Ma'aleh Hakhamisha (*c.* 14 km. north-west of Jerusalem while EB sherds were noted at Yazur.

There has also been a number of discoveries connect with the Iron Age. Thus Iron Age sherds were noted T. et Thom S. of Beisan ; at Ras es Summeirieh betwe Akko and Nahariah a group of rock-cut tombs was observe finds included a bronze ring and armlet and pottery of la Iron II, besides a lamp and jar of the Persian period ; tw astarte figures had previously been found there. Anoth two graves were discovered during the construction of t new Tel Aviv-Khedera railway south of Khedera stati and cleared by Mr. Ory : they belonged to the time of t Hebrew Monarchy. Iron Age II sherds were noted Kisleh.

Fishermen near Dor dragged up a Phœnician juglet the 8th century B.C. ; and similarly near Cæsarea jars of th Persian, Hellenistic, and Byzantine periods were brought u from sea bottom some 4 km. from the mainland.

An Attic black figured vase (4th century B.C.) was foun near the Wady Rubin.

These finds are added to by the results of systemat digging. Important excavations have been carried o during 1948 and 1949 on behalf of the Jewish Palestin Exploration Society and Tel Aviv Municipality at T Qassileh, just below Sheikh Muwennis (Munis) near th Yarkon (Auja) river, north of Tel Aviv, under the directio of Dr. B. Maisler. Twelve strata, often clearly distinguishable by burnt layers, were encountered. This featu ld make the site of value for the chronology of Iron Age ery when once the full report is out.

The following summary is taken from Dr. Maisler's rt in the "Bulletin."

Stratum XII, the lowest (second half of 12th century B.C.) XI (first half and middle of 11th century B.C.) are rked by "Philistine" pottery: though drawings of birds restricted to XII. XI contained a bronze smelting plant. end of 11th and beginning of 10th century), a fortified lement, was very rich ceramically. Besides much comely preserved native pottery (which included decadent, no longer genuine "Philistine" ware) there were ro-Phœnician imports which were also imitated locally. ronze smelting plant and indications for spinning and ving (perhaps also a dye plant) were found. After the ruction of this settlement, which may betoken the lacement of a Philistine by an Israelite population, the n was laid out anew, and surrounded by a casemate wall. (10th century) and VIII (9th century) included a twoied public building containing nine rooms on a plan parable to that of a building in Megiddo, IVB. Many nestic installations like wine presses, etc., were found, much pottery, tools and implements, besides three seals, w trinkets and a "pillar" astarte. VII (9th–8th century) ished, besides much wheel-burnished pottery, a few rds of "Samaria" ware, Cypriote imports, and a unique burnished red all over except for a small patch adorned h the picture of a running horse. Two Hebrew ostraca nd on the tell surface before excavations probably should be ributed here. One reads למלך אלף שמן ומאה א׳ [״] חיהו the other זהב · אפר · לבית חרנ [...] ש [*i.e.* זהב אופיר לבית חורון...שקלים שלו]

VI (5th–4th century) included a great courtyard house: tery consisted of the usual vases of the Persian period, ides Attic imports. A seal found on the surface before avation may belong to this layer. It shows a man ding a bird, and the inscription reads: לעשניה עבד המלך (Herodian) brought remains of a public building, and terra sigillata sherds with XAPIC stamp typical of t Augustan age. III (3rd–4th century A.D.) contained wh seemed to be a market hall (only partly cleared) ; a potte kiln probably also belongs here. IV, and also II and (Byzantine and Arab) brought only inconsiderable remai

Quite at the end of the 1949 campaign the Iron A cemetery was also located, but left over for another campaig

Altogether the work done in disentangling what is oft a complicated network of mud brick walls is impressive, a Dr. Maisler and his staff are to be congratulated on wh they have achieved.

There were also quite a number of finds connected w the Roman period. The most important was probably t discovery of a tomb of the first half of the first century A.D. Nathanya, cleared by Mr. Ory with local assistance. Th tomb, of loculi type, besides pottery and glass vess contained toilet articles and some splendid lion hea carrying rings in their mouths, which had been attached the coffins. Another lion head and ring comes from grav at Ma'anith-Narbatha. Roman pottery has further be noted at Khedera in the area of the Muslim cemetery, an in Tel Aviv harbour. Other Roman tombs were a cleared (by Mr. Ory) at el Makr near Akko. Graves wi ossuaries were found at Kh. Khadra north of the Yark (cleared by J. Kaplan and M. Minkowski, who have al done much of the other clearing work undertaken by t Department), and at Romeimeh near Jerusalem (dea with by Dr. Ben Dor). At Sheikh Badr, near Romeime Roman remains (including stamped legionary tiles) an Byzantine remains, including the foundations of a churc were investigated by Mr. Avi-Yonah on behalf of the Depar ment and the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society. eṣ Ṣuba near Qastal, south-west of Jerusalem, remains of ashlar tower, rock-cut glacis, and wall were found, all Roman date. Kh. Khabra, a low artificial mound sout east of Yibna, proved on investigation to contain materia ranging from Hellenistic (or earlier) to Arabic. At Beisa a new funerary inscription (Hygia sorori b(ene)m(e)r(en tibi ter/ra levis) and other classical remains have been ed. At Susitha (Hippos) some additional planning was cted. The big central building with its walls still nding to a height of 3–4 m., already noted by Schumacher, now regarded as the nymphæum. Near Dardara, east Lake Hule, some new milestones of the Roman road nias-Jisr Banat Ya'qub were discovered. At 'Alma in rthern Galilee architectural fragments and pieces of an cription belonging to a synagogue were found. Late man graves holding clay sarcophagi covered by tiles re encountered near Tiv'on, and other late Roman traces re found at el Jish (Gischala) and el Bassa.

There is also a number of places where Byzantine remains, luding tesselated pavements, were found. We mention avei Zion, where also fragments of inscriptions were overed on both sides of the W. Mallaha estuary (connected th ancient Kabritha ?) ; Neby Thary near Kefar Sirkin here a small church and ashlar built tower, perhaps a adside station of Roman or Byzantine date appears to ve stood, protecting the Lydda-Antipatris road; et Tireh th traces of a church embodied in the mosque ; and list rther Beit Shana, 1 km. north of Selbit, el Burj north of lbit, Ramath-Gan, 'Eser Takhanoth, Giv'at Ada, Beth tzkhak, Umm Khalid, Dabaib et Tuwal north-east of isan. Again there is one find of more than ordinary terest. In 1948 an Israelite soldier discovered a Samaritan scription reading יהוה ימלך עולמ ועד at Selbit near rusalem. This proved to be part of the first Samaritan nagogue known. The building has since been made the ject of a campaign of excavation by Professor E. L. kenik, assisted by Mr. N. Avigad. The following notes e taken from Professor Sukenik's report in the " Bulletin."

Further parts of the mosaic were found, including more ebrew and Greek inscriptions. The original building easured *c.* 15½ x 8 meters, and was orientated to Mt. erizim (N.E.) ; it consisted of a forecourt to the south and prayer hall to the north. The floor of the prayer hall ntained in the middle a decorated slab, 6 m. by 3·20 m., with a big circle in the middle (now largely destroyed b overlying Arab house foundations) ; also beneath wha remains of a Greek inscription two seven-branched candl sticks flanking a stylized mountain (Mt. Gerizim) are shown The floor outside the slab contained, besides the Samarita inscription mentioned above, traces of a second one (originall in three lines) of which little survives now. Locally remnan of a second tesselated floor *c.* 15 cms. above the origina one could be distinguished : it was adorned with plants an geometrical motives, and apparently comes from a restoratio of the original building after it had been ruined. Th original structure was probably built during the 4th centur A.D. when the Samaritan community was flourishing ; an it was destroyed during the 5th or at the beginning of th 6th century as a consequence of the Samaritan rebellio against the Byzantines. Settlement here continued for while, however, as early Arabic pottery indicates, thoug in Robinson's days the site had been abandoned, and wa still empty at the time of the Kitchener-Conder survey, afte which it was re-settled by Fellahin from Beit Duqqu north o Qariat el Enab.

A few remarks may be made about various finds made in the south of the country, including the Negev proper Byzantine remains were discovered at Hujj, and Beersheba town ; at Bir Zebelieh (situated on the old Ain Hosb-Kurnub road, map grid approximately 151 053, sheet 15 of 1 : 100 000), two Byzantine water tanks, one of which still showed the springers of a vault, were found ; pottery at this wayside station included, besides a majority of late Byzantine frag ments, also some Hellenistic and Roman sherds. A Ain Hosb itself Iron Age sherds were found among others At Ein Gedi, Dr. Maisler investigated the hillock called el Jurn, and found it to be natural but crowned with a fortified post of Roman date ; a few Middle Iron Age sherds showed that this post must have had a predecessor. Other finds included a reservoir below, and burial caves of Herodian date with ossuary fragments.

A new copper mining district was found in W. 'Amrany

tween W. Mene'iyeh and the Gulf of Aqaba. Shafts and
lleries penetrate the rock to a depth of 5–6 m. in order to
ach the ore-bearing strata. The sherds found include some
the time of the Israelite Monarchy—Post-Byzantine :
vestigations were made at the white mosque (Jami el
biad) near Ramleh, where it was found that the under-
ound rooms served for storage in connection with a system
water channels. At et Tireh part of a crusading fortress
as noticed, now incorporated in the Arabic castle. Walls
ll standing to a height of 6–8 m. are 1 m. thick and con-
ructed of stones *c.* 50–80 cm. long.

Quite at the end of the Mandate, tunnelling operations
political prisoners in Acre jail led to the discovery of a
ries of underground halls, including what appears to be the
ning hall of the knights of St. John. Further work on these
oms, which are deeply filled with rubbish, is still required.

It remains to mention one excavation small in extent, but
ost interesting in conception. At present much of the old
wn of Jaffa on its mound is being pulled down for considera-
ons of public health, only selected buildings of historical or
her interest having been scheduled for preservation. A
mall sondage in the area thus freed was begun, on behalf of
e Department, by Mr. P. L. O. Guy. It has so far reached
rabic, Roman and Hellenistic remains, including a fair
umber of Maccabean coins. A very considerable area is
owever now (though perhaps not for long) open to investiga-
on. The writer cannot help feeling that excavation on a
ally large scale might, in the case of a tell with a long and
nportant past such as Jaffa, give some highly interesting
sults, if only the necessary means could be found somehow.

ZECHARIAH'S ENIGMATICAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE CORNER-STONE

By Edwin E. Le Bas

Twenty years ago, Professor J. Jeremias proved t “ The Corner-Stone of Scripture,” so often assumed to b foundation quoin at the base of two walls meeting at rig angles, was definitely a topstone occupying the upperm site in the building.[1] He left the design of the sto indefinite, however, and at least a dozen different types topstone have clamoured for the honour. In 1946 t present writer suggested, in the pages of this journal, th the design of this uppermost stone is that of a pyramidi or pyramidal topstone.[2] Isaiah states that it is, moreov a very definite type of pyramidion—a testing or examini pyramidion.

This highly unusual type of topstone was illustrated an old West Riding custom in which the master-build would cut out a gable topstone and hand it to his workm instructing them to build the stone gable of the house th were erecting so that when the short topmost course w reached, this prepared gable topstone would fit flush up this constructed site. Sometimes the men succeeded, others they failed, in which case the topstone would have be recut, or else, perhaps, rejected and a new one shaped fit the faulty gable. So with the testing pyramidion. T builders were given full instructions by God, the Archite for erecting their structure. They had but to follow t working drawings and accompanying details exactly, for t prepared pyramidion, when sent them later, to fit precise

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[1] J. Jeremias, “ *Kephalé Gonias—'Akrogonîaios,*” “ *Zeitschrift f* *N. T. Wissenschaft,*” 1930, Vol. 29, p. 264f.

[2] P.E.Q., Vol., lxxviii, July-October, 1946, p. 103. “ *Was* *Corner-Stone of Scripture a Pyramidion ?* ”

building they had constructed. Unfortunately, however,
did not do so. Since this pyramidion, however, was
rfect, and the instructions and drawings equally reliable,
error was plainly the fault of the builders. They,
wever, resented this imputation and rejected it ("scoffing-
"—Acts, iv, 11). This explanation lies as the construction-
reason for a step which has puzzled many commentators,
., "The stone which the builders *rejected* . . ." (Ps.,
viii, 22). The pyramidion after its repudiation was buried
God in Mt. Zion—founded therein as in a stronghold
r security (Is. xxviii, 16).

Now, other possible references in the Old Testament to
is testing pyramidion are exceedingly limited and not
ways readily recognisable. The prophet Zechariah, how-
er, has two significant allusions to certain outstanding
nes, for which a riot of explanations have been forthcoming
d which, therefore, need to be critically examined. The
st reference reads, "Behold, I will bring forth my servant
e Branch. For behold, the stone that I have set before
shua ; upon one stone are seven eyes : behold, I will
grave the graving thereof, saith the LORD of hosts, and
will remove the iniquity of that land in one day" (iii, 8–9).
he second is as follows : ". . . and he shall bring forth the
adstone with shoutings of 'Grace, grace' unto it"
v, 7).

Of these two, the first is wholly indefinite, being simply
ferred to as "the stone." The second is more informative,
ing in this case, "the headstone." Two questions at
nce arise : "Does either of these stones (presumably the
cond might do so) refer to the topmost 'Corner-stone of
ripture' of which we have been thinking ?" The next
uery is, "Is it possible to determine, with any certainty,
e identity of the remaining stone, in this case 'the stone'
iii, 9 ?" We wish to submit that it is possible to provide
wholly satisfactory and final answer to each enquiry.
e propose to begin with "the headstone" of iv, 7.

The great majority of commentators either hold it to be
foundation stone—a quoin—or else a topstone, leaving

the design quite uncertain. Only two commentators to c knowledge suggest that it is a pyramidion. Fausset belie this but declares that the corner-stone mentioned by bo the Psalmist and Isaiah was an entirely different stone, bei a quoin[1]. Alexander also feels that Zechariah's term deno a pyramidion, but holds, notwithstanding, that it is the qu of Psalmist and Isaiah.[2] Ignoring these various views, submit the following points which, we believe, will definit assign this " headstone " of Zechariah to the pyramidion Isaiah, the " Corner-stone of Scripture " : they are four number :—

(i) The text of the Hebrew reads *hā-eben hā-roshā* (li " the stone the head ") and is acknowledged to mean a to stone. Symmachus confirms this with *tȏn líthon tȍn 'ákr* Aquila, on the other hand, reads *t'' l'' t'' prōteúonta*, wh Theodotion has *t'' l'' t'' prȏton.* Both text and versions th speak of " the headstone " as occupying a topmost si and as being of primary importance. Both features wou be true of the pyramidion, more so than of any other " hea stone " known.

(ii) The fulfilment of the Psalmist's prediction that t rejected stone " is become the head of the corner " (Ps. cxvi 22), would, of necessity, demand a release from the buri mentioned by Isaiah. Moreover, Scripture having alread mentioned the burial, may be depended upon also to reco its liberation. Now, there is no topstone in Scriptur which would have to be released to be of use, which could l identified with the released headstone of Zechariah, oth than the buried Messianic stone mentioned by Isaia (xxviii, 16). We are forced, therefore, to identify Zechariah " headstone " with this Messianic pyramidion buried Mt. Zion.

(iii) Jewish and other commentators regard Isaiah corner-stone as being Messianic. Rashi and Bechai both c

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[1] Fausset's " *Crit. and Expos. Bible Cyclopedia,*" Art., " *Corner-Stone.*"

[2] W. L. Alexander, " *Zechariah's Visions and Warnings,*" Nisbet, 188 p. 66.

Targum Jonathan especially holds the released “head-one” of Zechariah to be Messianic. This is the highest onour any Jew could bestow upon a symbol. Scripture, wever, only knows of one such stone and that the well-own “Corner-stone of Scripture.” It is with this stone at we must, therefore, identify this liberated “headstone.”

The foregoing arguments identifying “the headstone” the prophet with the Messianic pyramidion buried in t. Zion, depend upon the constructional terms used both the Hebrew text and in the Greek versions ; upon the nstructional necessity of releasing the buried corner-stone Isaiah ere it could be used at all, and, finally, upon the idence, especially of Targum Jonathan. There is, how-er, a fourth approach which might appeal to some. is dependent upon the interchangeability, in art, of such rms as “beautiful” and “precious.” Isaiah, for instance, scribes the buried testing pyramidion as “precious,” hile to Zechariah it is greeted with cries of “Grace, grace,” e., “beautiful, beautiful,” the duplicated term expressing perlative loveliness. The corner-stone, as an architectural ature, would be a sculptured and polished work of art. or all such objects of man's artistic skill, the two terms ould, in the prophet's day, as now, be invariably interhangeable ; that which is precious would be beautiful, nd *vice versa.* These two terms would thus apply to the ame stone, no rival stone being in question.

In view of the three main relations above mentioned between either or both of the Psalmist's and Isaiah's corner-ones and “the headstone” of Zechariah) we have no ption but to hold that they all refer to one and the same orner-stone, the pyramidion. To the Psalmist, it is the one which becomes the head of the corner ; to Isaiah it is e testing pyramidion, while to Zechariah it is “the head-one.” Those commentators who hold that “the head-one” is the same as the rejected and buried corner-stone re correct in identifying them, but wrong if asserting that e design is that of the quoin. On the other hand, those

who claim that “ the headstone ” is a topstone are corr
but when they declare that it is different from the st
thought to be a quoin in the temple wall and mentio
by both the Psalmist and Isaiah, they are wrong.
theory that the corner-stone is a pyramidion solves all such con
dictions and the corner-stone can then be traced unerrin
whether mentioned by the Psalmist, Isaiah or by Zechar

The examination just concluded, has, we trust, provi
arguments which will be accepted as cogent and unansw
able for identifying the three references of the Psalm
Isaiah and Zechariah (iv, 7) as the one supreme “ Corn
Stone of Scripture.” The solution of this problem
necessary for its own sake. It is far more so, however, w
we turn to a related question which meets us in the preced
chapter, namely, the identity of “ the stone ” shown
Joshua, the high priest. This enigma, far more baffling t
the identity of “ the headstone,” is still, after centuries
scrutiny and of speculation, utterly unsolved. A defi
attempt to pierce the veil which shrouds this “ ston
should, therefore, at all costs be made. We shall find
foregoing investigation and conclusion essential to a soluti

As we turn to what Zechariah has to mention ab
“ the stone,” we find an utter absence of any obvious desi
He does not tell us, for instance, whether “ the stone ”
natural boulder, or a quarried, rough-hewn block, o
shaped, tooled and even polished “ stone.” Whether it
building “ stone ” or a jewel, as many suggest, is uncerta
if the former, neither design nor destined site is named
the latter, whether of breast-plate or for crown—and b
suggestions have been made—is not indicated. The prop
indeed, seems to have surrounded “ the stone ” with a
of impenetrable mystery.

Considering the apparent absence of any and every su
guide as we might reasonably expect, it is not surpris
that commentators, given such a free hand, have rang
untrammelled over an immense field in their desperate eff
to suggest a probable solution to the problem. In ord
therefore, that readers may the better grasp the nature

mystery before us, may we give a list of these varying vers which have been put forward? Some scholars ear under one or more possible keys to this enigma, which shows the uncertainty they so frankly admit. In the ground we place two of the main groups, suggesting in first, the foundation quoin, in the second, the topstone, e being broadly the same as the two groups met n in discussing the identity of "the headstone." The most popular theories which come next are those cating a jewel in the breastplate of the high priest, or a n in the crown of Zerubbabel or the Messiah. The more ess complete list would seem to be as follows :—

i) *Foundation Quoin* : Rashi, Kimchi, Jarchi, Rosenmüller, Hitzig, Wright, Wardlaw, Stonard, Theiner, Marck, Henderson, Kliefoth, Neumann, Schneider, Perowne, etc.
i) *Topstone* : Marti, Ewald, Burger, Steiner, Perowne, McFadyen, Marcus Dods, Lowth, Maurer, Woods and Powell, Driver, etc.
i) *Jewel in breastplate* : Wellhausen, Bredenkampf, Baumgarten, Matthew Henry, Theodoret, Alting, Hengstenberg, Schegg, Hesselberg, etc.
v) *Gem for crown* : Wellhausen, Smend, Kennett, Nowack, McFadyen, Driver, etc.
v) *Shettiyah*, or legendary "Foundation Stone" of ancient Jewish lore : Schlier, Pressel ;
i) *Building Materials for Temple* : Hofmann, Lowe, Ellicott, Stähelin ;
ii) *Symbol of the Temple* : Woods and Powell, Marti, Calvin ;
ii) *Plummet* (Zec. iv, 10) : Aben Ezra, Kimchi, Grotius ;
x) *Rock in Holy of Holies or Altar* : Von Orelli, Volck, Hofmann, Schmidt ;
x) *Symbolic Stone* : May ;
xi) *The Messiah* : most expositors of the early Church ;
ii) *Kingdom of God* : Hengstenberg, Keil, Alexander ;
ii) *Nation of Israel* : Schegg, Köhler and Lange.

It is unfortunate that scarcely any critical examina
of Scriptural grounds accompanies these various suggesti
Some writers give ample reasons for rejecting the view
others, but few if any considered arguments for the the
they themselves adopt. We shall accordingly avoid trav
ing the many suggestions above listed, but shall approach
text from an independent standpoint entirely, leaving
conclusions to the judgment of the reader.

We propose quoting the entire passage referring to “
stone.’ It is heralded by the clarion call, “ Hear m
O Joshua the high priest, thou and they fellows that
before thee, for they are men which are a sign ” (iii,
This striking summons should, therefore, arrest the kee
attention of every reader to the announcement wh
immediately follows, embracing, as it does, the signific
coming of “ my servant the Branch,” and not only so,
the intriguing reference to the stone set before Joshua.

Before quoting this passage, however, we must
attention to the fact that this is not the only summons
prophet issues directing us to this passage. We have
addition the strangely significant threefold use of
exclamatory signal, “ *hinneh*,” corresponding to our Scriptu
“ Behold,” and to our old-time secular, “ oyez.” Not o
is it used of the Messiah—once—but, strikingly, *twice*
“ the stone.” Had it only been mentioned once, so
notice would be taken of it, but to employ it twice calls
our marked attention, since the doubling of word or statem
in Hebraic thought is ever noteworthy. We are remind
indeed, of the twofold use of “ *hinneh* ” in the well-kno
penitential psalm (Ps. 51, vv. 5–6), in which we ha
condensed by the Psalmist, a treatise of Hebraic theolo
on man's fall and subsequent road to redemption. T
duplication of this summons here is not less significa
Indeed, in these two verses, in which “ *hinneh* ” is used th
times, the prophet, intentionally, we believe, binds togeth
both Messiah and “ stone ” in that threefold cord which,
the Preacher tells us, “ is not quickly broken ” (Eccl. iv, 1
Zechariah is clearly determined that the striking news of t

siah's coming—glorious news for his people—is not taken e, but *is linked with the presence and the importance of* " *the* ." Such being the case, we shall consider this announce- t broken up into the three separate portions naturally cated by the *threefold* " *hinneh* " Thus we have :—

(*a*) for, *behold*, I will bring forth my servant the Branch (iii, 8b) ;

(*b*) For, *behold*, the stone that I have set before Joshua ; upon one stone are seven eyes :

(*c*) *behold*, I will engrave the graving thereof, saith the LORD of hosts, and I will remove the iniquity of that land in one day (iii, 9).

shall work steadily and critically through each of these e stages and trust that the information gleaned will be elp in determining the identity of " the stone."

for, behold, I will bring forth my servant the Branch.

This distinctive Messianic prophecy is not only striking also suggestive. God states that He is bringing forth y servant the Branch," the text conveying the thought of nediacy. That the passage refers to the Advent of the ssiah is not in doubt. Apart from the well-known rvant " passages in Isaiah (xlii, 1–4 ; xlix, 1–6 ; l, 4–9 lii, 13—liii, 12), we have Ezekiel's references (xxxiv, 24 ; xxxvii, 24–25). The name " Branch," here used proper name, as with the Adversary (Zec. iii, 1), is also lied to the Messiah in Isaiah (iv, 2) and Jeremiah ii, 5 ; xxxiii, 15).

Out of the eight visions with which Zechariah opens his k, it is not without deep purpose that the only definite elation of the Messiah and of His Coming which they tain, is to be found in this fourth vision. It is the inctive feature of this vision that it deals with the glorious th of the cleansing from sin issuing in divine forgiveness. is is not only seen in the purging and re-instatement of hua, but it is also promised with regard to the future noval of the iniquity of " that land " with which it ends.

Now, in between these two redemptions, that of the individ
and that of the community, we find the remarkable predicti
of the coming of the Messiah. Considering that the
mediate purpose of the Advent of the Messiah is to clea
mankind from sin, it is impossible to reflect upon this visi
without reaching the conclusion that the coming of
Messiah must be, in some undefined manner, connected w
both of these great redemptive activities. Indeed, the t
figures of speech, "servant" and "Branch" would se
to confirm this. Ezekiel, for instance, definitely states t
the "servant" is to rule over a cleansed nation (xxx
23–25), while moral purging is equally to take place un
the rule of the "Branch" (Is. iv, 2–4). In fact, that th
can be no redemption whether of the individual or of
nation, apart from the coming of the Messiah, would alm
seem to be the implied deduction of the presence of
Messiah in this vision.[1]

Zechariah does not, however, insert between the cleans
of Joshua and that of the nation, a reference to the Mess
only, but also, strangely enough, various perplexing allusi
to a "stone" shown to Joshua. Now, if the prophet h
omitted all reference to this "stone" and written inste
"for, behold, I will bring forth my servant the Branch, a
I will remove the iniquity of that land in one day," ev
scholar, as well as every average reader, would have tak
his words as a straightforward prophecy of the future Adv
and mission of the Messiah, and one wholly in keeping w
the highest teaching of the Old Testament. Even orthod
Judaism would unhesitatingly have accepted it. No questi
from any source would have been aroused. But Zechari
does not do so. He has far more to tell us. Not only is t
Messiah to come, but a definite "stone" has significan
been shown to Joshua. This statement is inserted betwe

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[1] Zechariah is as cryptic, yet suggestive, in his references to
purging both of Joshua and of the nation, as he is of the Messia
corner-stone. Intriguing, however, as these aspects of his message a
they form no part of this article which is rigidly confined to the determi
tion of the design of the two stones mentioned by him.

reference to the Messiah, the redemptive Agent, and the ansing of the nation, obviously the field in which the eeming grace of the Messiah is exercised. He couples h the appearance of " the stone," the presence of the en eyes and of the engraving, features which inevitably ovoke the earnest enquiry of every serious student.

At the outset, it is obvious that the mention of " the ne " with these two characteristics (placed in such a ntext) shows that the unveiling of " the stone " to Joshua in some manner, to be related to the moral purging of dah. As Stonard recognises, " the stone " carries forward e idea of the Messiah. Thus, while the Messiah is rtainly, in accordance with the entire message of the Bible, be vitally instrumental in the cleansing of mankind, none e less, this particular Messianic mission to Judaism is to shared, in some indefinite manner, by " the stone "—by unveiling to Joshua and by the effect this revelation has on the high priest.

Zechariah is thus determined, as we have already seen, at from every point of view, we are to concentrate not on the Messiah alone, as we would naturally do, but upon e Messiah *aided by " the stone."* It is this unexpected mbination which effects the redemption of the nation. his is a wholly striking conclusion to reach, but one that is navoidable. Indeed, it calls insistently for further enquiry d research. We shall only learn the lesson which the ophet has to teach us by examining what he has to say specting " the stone," to which, in fact, he devotes more ace than he does to the Messiah. We are driven, therere, to turn immediately to the highly important clauses hich follow.

) *For behold the stone that I have set before Joshua . . .*

We are struck by the obvious fact that this " stone " is entioned immediately after the prediction of the coming essiah. Although such contiguity does not necessarily ove that any intimate relation exists between the Messiah nd " the stone," yet it is essential to weigh most carefully

all such obvious Scriptural contexts. It is impossib
indeed, in this instance, to separate them as wholly u
connected. Just the reverse. We are forced to rega
“ the stone ” as having some connection with the Messiah
redemption of Judah. It is the precise basis of this relati
which we should try to discover. For, on the surface, ma
readers would claim that it should take considerab
justification, on the prophet's part, to insert any referen
whatsoever to a lifeless object such as a “ stone,” especial
to rank it as sharing in the exclusive redemptive activity
the Messiah. Zechariah largely answers our enquiry
giving us various features of “ the stone ” all of which str
its unique importance on the one hand, or its intima
affinity with the Messiah on the other. We shall study the
details and draw what would seem to be the legitima
conclusion which they indicate.

At the outset let us glance again at these words in whic
Zechariah, speaking for God, declares that He had s
“ the stone ” before Joshua. This display is invariab
taken to mean that “ the stone ” has been revealed to Joshu
in a vision. In this case, therefore, the revelation becomes
the very highest importance, for it is seen to be obviously,
vision *within a vision*, i.e., embodied in the fourth of the eig
visions with which the prophet opens his book. If “ th
stone ” had been the main object in an independent visio
this would have been of great significance. But, to have
included as an inset in another vision, is so utterly unusu
and striking in Scriptural usage, that an added not a less
importance is immediately to be attached to it. For at onc
“ the stone ” must clearly partake of the character of th
larger, better known vision in the heart of which it is set
in a specialised, designed frame. The uniqueness of i
appearance in this vision, is a fitting accompaniment to i
unexpected association with the Messiah. This distinct
unusual mode of revelation is, moreover, paralleled by th
unique character of “ the stone,” a feature definitel
mentioned by the prophet, as we shall now see.

pon one stone . . ."

There is a striking use of the numeral " one " in connec-
n with this " stone." It occurs immediately after the
tement by God that the stone had been shown to Joshua.
is is not the only time the prophet uses it in order to stress
importance of the object or date mentioned. It is
ralleled by Zechariah's reference to " one day," in the
ssage stating that " the light shall not be with brightness
d with gloom : but it shall be one day which is known
to the LORD . . . " (xiv, 6–7). It is thus used twice in
der to convey the extreme significance of the object, " the
ne " in the one case, " the day " in the other. Its use
curs likewise in Ezekiel, " . . . An evil, an only evil . . . "
i, 5). Here the word translated " only " is the numeral
one," precisely the same word as used in both instances by
chariah and again in xiv, 9. Ezekiel does not mean that
ly one disaster is to overtake the nation, but that it will be
devastating as utterly to overshadow every other ; in
her words its intensity will be unique. Ellicott calls
tention to this striking use of the numeral. Here then we
e faced with the fact that in the mind of the prophet
chariah, this particular " stone " overwhelmingly sur-
sses in value and honour every other stone in the wide
nge of Scripture. It is unique. One outstanding charac-
ristic which places this " stone " in a class by itself is given
the highly distinctive feature which immediately follows,
e Messianic aspect of which is arresting.

upon one stone are seven eyes : . . . "

In common with most of the features of this " stone,"
rious interpretations have been placed upon this unusual
ause. Vitringa and Blayney, for instance, have taken the
ebrew " *ayin* " to mean " fountains." Stonard criticises
is on the ground that the masculine form of the plural,
hich Zechariah here uses, always means " eyes," whilst
fountains " need the feminine plural. The LXX supports
e Hebrew and may be taken as conclusive. Those
mmentators who have thought of " the stone " as a jewel

in the breastplate of the high priest, or as a gem in
crown destined for Zerubbabel or the Messiah, look up
this precious jewel as either engraved with seven eyes
cut with seven facets which they term " eyes." Cal
takes the term literally and suggests they are the eyes
individuals looking upon Jesus (Jn. xii, 32 ; Rev. i,
We may dismiss these views, since a fully adequate explan
tion is ready to hand.

The one obvious Scriptural parallel open to us is to ta
these " seven eyes " as a figure of speech for the sev
angelic beings or spirits who are mentioned both in the
and the New Testaments as attendants upon God. Th
ancient storehouse of Jewish cabalistic lore, the Zoh
mentions that its central teacher, Simeon ben Yochai, us
to call his seven trusted disciples his " seven eyes." T
fact strikingly supports the Scriptural view which regar
them as personalities. These " eyes " are thus beings
human or divine—attached to and under the control of
acknowledged leader, be it man or God. Througho
Scripture they are vigilant angelic protectors of those who
heart is perfect towards God, the sphere of their activ
being world-wide (2 Chr., xvi, 9, also LXX ; Kim
mentions Zec. iv, 10, while Ewald, Keil, Ellicott, Owen an
others refer to Rev. i, 4 and v, 6).

Now it is this last Biblical reference to the " seven eyes
or " seven Spirits " (Rev. v, 6), which unveils the tru
respecting their role to a far deeper degree than anything
can secure from the Old Testament. Although the visi
of a seer may have been conveyed to him in a flash, yet t
speed with which its truth is unveiled may be spread ov
centuries. Such would seem to be the case with respect
the significance of these " seven Spirits," which only becom
Messianic in the Book of the Revelation.

This last reference reads, " And I saw in the . . . mid
of the elders, a Lamb standing, as though it had been slai
having seven horns, and seven eyes, which are the sev
Spirits of God, sent forth into all the earth " (Rev. v,
Commentators usually take the Lamb as having both horn

d eyes, seven of each. But does this necessarily follow? owhere else in Scripture are the "seven eyes" associated organs of vision with any creature, human or animal, but e always mentioned separately. Moreover, the seer does t interpret the horns, but is most careful to tell us that these seven eyes" are actually "seven Spirits." This at once dicates a marked distinction. We might, we suggest, sume, therefore, that the seer saw: (*a*) a Lamb having ven horns, and (*b*) "seven eyes", which are "the seven pirits", standing apart from the Lamb, but at Its side, bviously in attendance upon the Lamb.

Ignoring this point, which does not vitally affect our gument, what is certain is that the role of "the seven pirits," as seen by St. John, is utterly different from that ith which they are normally associated in the Old Testaent. Thus, they would have helped Asa, king of Judah, gainst Ben-hadad, king of Syria, had he turned to God for elp (2 Chr. xvi, 1f). On earth their function was to act on ehalf of God "to show himself strong in the behalf of them hose heart is perfect toward him" (2 Chr. xvi, 9). No ch *protection*, obviously, is needed by the Lamb in heaven. heir role there is thus different. "The seven Spirits" are, all likelihood, definitely assigned to the Lamb in a manner hich is quite unique. Still designated, however, as "the ven Spirits of God," and also possessing a world-wide ission, they are still under the control of God, doubtless as itnesses of the integrity of the revived Lamb which had, one the less, been slain and not protected from death.

Turning to their presence in connection with "the stone" own to Joshua, since this "stone" is seen, as assumed by s, in a vision, there could be no need for any protection any ore than for the Lamb in heaven. If, on the other hand, the stone" were seen by Joshua, perhaps during the trial t which Satan was present, then "the seven Spirits" acting s guardians, would cause no surprise. In either case, ey would act as witnesses and guarantors of the perfect esign and faultless execution of "the stone." It is sigificant that only on two occasions in Scripture, are these

“ seven Spirits ” definitely mentioned as present ; once the Old Testament with “ the stone,” and once in the N Testament with the Lamb. A Messianic kinship see implied, and since the Lamb stood “ as though it had b slain,” this might suggest a parallel with “ the ston which might also have suffered, i.e., “ rejected by builders.” The suggested affinity is striking.

(*c*) “ *behold I will engrave the graving thereof saith the LO of hosts,*”

The version in our English Bibles has been responsi for many of the views put forward respecting the functi of “ the stone,’ namely, to exhibit some particular featu of value to Joshua. Some have suggested the engraving the seven Pleiades ; others, the secret name on the wh stone which none knew save he that received it (Rev. ii, 1 thus, Moffatt translates : “ I will engrave upon it servant’s name.” Sellin relates “ the stone ” to the sym given to the high priest at Borsippa temple on his installati McFadyen’s suggestion is the inscription, “ Holiness unto Lord.”

There is, however, another explanation which, we wo submit, offers a far more probable interpretation Zechariah’s prophecy than any of the foregoing suggestio The root meanings of the Hebrew word “ *pathah*,” here u both as verb and noun, are “ to open ” and “ opening (gateway, door, entrance). The meanings “ to engrav “ engraving,” are, of course, gladly admitted as valid, as, instance, in Exod. xxviii, 36. But these meanings secondary and specialised. Thus, whilst every engraving of course, an opening, every opening is not necessarily engraving. Accordingly, Kimchi translates the clause, will open the openings thereof,” whilst Blayney renders “ I will open the passage thereof.”

Now it is significant that the LXX, which is so oft illuminating in this enquiry, does not always give a lite version of the Hebrew, but often a Targum or explanato comment. In such cases it virtually acts as the old

mmentary on the Hebrew text in existence. The same
plies, at times, to the other Greek translations. This fact
ds point to the following version of the LXX, "'*idoù 'egō̃*
ússō bóthron," "I am digging a trench" (Bagster), the
rb expressing the meanings, "to dig up or through, burrow,
cavate," etc. Aquila renders it, "*diaglúphō 'anoígmata*
tēs," "I am cutting out its opening (door)," the verb
re conveying also the thoughts "to uncover, disclose."
he Syriac renders it, "I will open its gates." Ezekiel in
s striking vision of the valley full of dry bones, promises
rael that God "will open your graves." Here he uses
e same verb "*pathah*," while the LXX employs "'*anoígō*"
zek. xxxvii, 12).

The underlying thought is striking. It throws what
ay prove to be a flood of light upon both the identity and
so the destiny of the stone shown to Joshua. Zechariah
the vision which immediately follows, the fifth, has an
resting reference to "the headstone," which we traced in
e opening portion of this article to be none other than the
essianic corner-stone, the testing pyramidion. This refer-
ce is remarkable since we are definitely told that God
ings out this "headstone" showing it to the inhabitants,
resumably of Jerusalem (Zec. iv, 7). Since this stone is
e one which was rejected by the builders (Ps. cxviii, 22)
nd later buried in Zion (Is. xxviii, 16), it is, we submit,
lmost certain, that in the fourth vision Zechariah is warning
s that God is not only showing this identical stone to Joshua,
ut that he is preparing *to cut or to disclose a channel into the*
art of Mt. Zion so as to reach this long buried and hidden
rner-stone, in order evidently to bring it forth once more
the light of day.

We are, accordingly, left with these two alternatives
hich should be briefly summarised. In the accepted
anslation of the English Bible we have, "I will engrave the
ngraving." This statement, however, has no confirmation
om the Greek, while it is wholly lacking in any information
especting the nature or content of the engraving. On the
ther hand, by taking the general meaning of the Hebrew

pathah, we find that it is confirmed by the LXX, Aqu
and the Syriac, also by the translations of Blayney a
Kimchi. This version stating the opening up of a chan
to " the stone " at once links the clause with the act
release of the Messianic " headstone " in the next vis
(iv, 7). Finally, since " the stone " shown to Joshua wo
thus be the Messianic corner-stone, we at once grasp why
is that so many of the characteristics of " the stone "
seen to be Messianic. Of the two alternatives, therefo
before us, we submit that the latter possesses by far t
stronger claims for acceptance. Before reaching any fi
conclusion, however, we must examine the last clause in t
prophet's statement.

" *and I will remove the iniquity of that land in one day.*"

Two features in this final clause call for marked noti
In the first place, the clause is introduced by the " *wa*
consecutive, which, when used with the perfect, implies t
this future event is the effect of the preceding factors. Th
the characteristics of " the stone," together with its appare
release, should be considered as helping to bring about t
moral purging of the nation. We might, indeed, transl
it, " and I will *accordingly* (therefore, thus etc.), remove t
iniquity . . . "

The second feature to be noted is the use of the Hebr
word, " *umashti*," which is also of profound value to c
enquiry. It comes from a verb, " *mush*," the root of whi
means, " to depart, remove, take away." This ro
however, also means " to feel, touch, handle," being us
in Gen. (xxvii, 21) where Isaac says to Jacob, " Draw ne
that I may feel thee." Strangely enough, however, this
a secondary form of another verb, " mashash," " to fe
grope," also used in Gen. (xxvii, 12), and again, of Lab
searching through the tent for the stolen idols (Gen. xxxi, 3

Now the LXX translates this verb of Zechariah
" *psēlapháō*," " to feel, grope about," and, be it not
metaphorically, " *to examine closely*." In face of this trans
tion, Lowe suggests that the Greek translator has confus

e two verbs, "*mush*" and "*mashash*," and given us, therefore, e idea of God "searching out" rather than of "removing" sin.

May we suggest, however, that the Greek translator is ing "*psēlapháō*" intentionally? He grasps, in other ords, the precise identity of the stone shown to Joshua, and, though we have not as yet drawn our own conclusions om the evidence we have gathered, it is plain that the reek is pointing out to us that the stone is a "testing, ying, examining" stone. Thus Bagster's version of the ptuagint, translates this clause, "and I will search out all e iniquity of that land in one day." In this instance, as so many others, the Greek, by these Targumic renderings explanatory comments, gives us an insight into the original ebrew which is of the very highest value. Indeed, of all e Messianic features which Zechariah attributes to this stone," there is, perhaps, none which is more conclusive of true identity than this; we are unavoidably reminded of e "testing, scrutinising" quality of the buried corner-stone.

We cannot do better, in closing this third section of these aracteristics of "the stone," than to quote again from agster's LXX, "behold, I am digging a trench, saith the ord Almighty, and I will search out all the iniquity of that nd in one day." It will be seen that our own examination the text confirms this translation, providing, as the Greek oes, a clearer idea of the original than is conveyed by our cepted English translation. These two clauses thus ex- ess: (*a*) the future liberation of the buried headstone ec. iv, 7), which is (*b*) none other than the testing pyramid- n (Is. xxviii, 16).

From the entire survey of this field as given, it will be en that the light shed by Zechariah on the relation between e Messiah and "the stone" is far more definite and timate in its Messianic features than many readers would spect from even a careful reading of the text. This demptive mission is so exclusive, the Messiah being the le God-appointed individual to Whom He has entrusted it, at it is not surprising that the prophet devotes to it more of s brief space than he does to the Messiah, a feature we had

already noted. This increased attention to " the stone "
not, of course, due to the prophet's mistaken idea of th
respective importance. It is necessary for the simple reas
that the purpose of " the stone " is wholly unfamiliar to
Jewish contemporaries, and yet, since it was to play so gr
a part in their future redemption from sin, how necessary
was that he should enlighten them on its merits !

We are now in a position briefly to summarise the vari
Messianic features of " the stone " indicated by Zechariah :

(*a*) From the context in which " the stone " is placed, i
obvious that it is associated with the Messiah
His divine redemptive mission to Judaism.

(*b*) " The stone " is mentioned immediately after t
reference to the coming Messiah, implying,
Stonard has seen, that the thought of the Messi
is to be carried over into " the stone."

(*c*) " The stone " is seen as a vision within a vision, i.
it is set within the larger framework of the redem
tion of Judaism from sin, a divine role which it
to share with the Messiah.

(*d*) " The stone " is stated to be unique, an undenia
characteristic not only of " the stone "—judgi
by the role it is to play—but also of the Messia

(*e*) " The stone " is significantly attended by the sev
Spirits of God, who are closely connected with t
Messianic Lamb (Rev. v, 6).

(*f*) The LXX informs us that God is cutting out
channel, undoubtedly to release this buried "stone
thus suggestively identifying it with the release
" the headstone " (Zec. iv, 7), which we ha
already determined in this article to be the Messia
ic corner-stone.

(*g*) The LXX also implies the examining role of " t
stone " by stating the divine search for all the s
in " that land," this being the precise function
the testing pyramidion when examining the wo
of the builders and thereby laying bare the
constructional fault.

We would submit that the above characteristics un-
ubtedly combine in demonstrating beyond any reasonable
ubt, that " the stone " is Messianic. These features
pear, moreover, to have been intentionally veiled by the
ophet. At all events, they seem, hitherto, to have escaped
y similar sustained examination. Admitting, then, its
essianic character, there can be no question respecting the
entity of this Messianic " stone." There is but one such
tone " in the entire range of Scripture, namely, the
rner-stone originally rejected by the builders (Ps. cxviii, 22)
d, later, buried in Mt. Zion (Is. xxviii, 16). This would
pear to be abundantly confirmed by the recorded fact of
vine preparations being made to reach this " stone "
i, 9), while, in the next vision, the fifth, " the headstone,"
eviously shown to be also Messianic, is released in the
esence of Zerubbabel. The identity of " the stone," now
en to be Messianic, with this " headstone " also seen to be
essianic, is, in the utter absence of any possible rival stone,
ndoubted. With this conclusion, we reach what we trust
ill prove to be a wholly reliable identification not simply of
is " stone " with the " headstone," but with " The
essianic Corner-Stone of Scripture." It but remains to
mmarise our entire argument.

The reader, who will doubtless have been struck, at the
tset of our article, by the flood of theories which has surged
rward in an attempt to identify the two " stones " men-
oned by Zechariah, more especially the one revealed to
shua, will admit the urgency of the need for settling this
erplexing problem. In our effort to discover a final
lution, we first attempted to determine the identity of
the headstone " released in the presence of Zerubbabel
v, 7), and found that it was none other than the testing
yramidion buried earlier by God in the depths of Mt. Zion,
s mentioned by Isaiah (xxviii, 16). With this advance
rmly held, we were then able to press forward on the far
ore involved quest of penetrating the veil intentionally
ung by the prophet over the identity of the undefined
stone " seen in the fourth vision by the high priest (iii, 9).

Enquiry revealed various Messianic characteristics sub
interwoven into the innermost nature of this " stone," all
which in a remarkable manner, support and confirm ea
other. In the light of these features there is no ot
designation which can possibly be given to it than that
" The Messianic Corner-Stone of Scripture," the
" stone," in fact, upon which our entire research has c
centrated. The soundness of our conclusion will, we tr
be upheld by all who critically examine the grounds up
which this conclusion is based. It only remains to add th
this is the very " stone " referred to by Jesus during Pass
Week when He spoke of its varied experiences as illustrat
His own personal destiny (Mk. xii, 10, etc.).

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF MEDITERRANEAN PREHISTORY AND PROTOHISTORY.

THE first International Congress of Mediterranean ehistory and Protohistory was held in Italy (Florence-ples-Rome) from 18th April to 3rd May, 1950. About 0 eminent scholars were present, and many of them presented Governments, Universities and other learned stitutions and societies of Great Britain, Italy, Algiers, lgium, Cyprus, Egypt, France, Germany, Israel, Spain, veden, Switzerland, Turkey, U.N.E.S.C.O., and Yugo-via ; there were also scholars from Denmark and Holland.

The Congress was divided into two main parts, the ientific sessions which were held mainly in Florence, and e archæological excursions and visits to excavation sites d museums in Central and Southern Italy. The subjects alt with in the scientific sessions were divided into the llowing six main sections : (1) Mediterranean Palæo-ography and Palæoanthropology ; (2) Euro-African rela-ons in the Palæolithic and Mesolithic Ages ; (3) Agrarian ltures and ancient mining industries ; (4) Toponymy and nguistics as means for the reconstruction of the earliest hnical vicissitudes ; (5) Greek and Italian chronology of e Bronze and Iron Ages ; and (6) Relationship between ncient Italian and Western European plastic arts, and riental, pre-Hellenic, and Early Greek art. About one undred papers were read.

The following papers dealt with Oriental subjects : *he African Foundations of Ancient Egyptian Civilization* (by rof. H. Frankfort), *Rapporti commerciali della colonia greca in gitto, Naukratis* (Prof. F. W. von Bissing), *The Origins of the reek Alphabet : Chronological Problems* (Dr. D. Diringer), *ecent Research on Prehistoric Cyprus* (Dr. P. Dikaios), *La data ella guerra di Troia nelle ultime discussioni storico-archeologiche*

(Prof. L. A. Stella), *Mykenae-Siebenbürgen-Skandinavien* (Pr J. Werner), *The Discoveries of Karatepe* (by Prof. T. H. Bosser this paper was read by Dr. Halet Çambel), *Les tombeau coupole en Asie Mineure* (Prof. A. M. Mansel), and there w two important papers on Palestinian prehistory, one by leading Israeli prehistorian, Dr. M. Stekelis, on *Le prog des recherches préhistoriques en Palestine*, and the other, by young scholar from Tel Aviv. Unfortunately, a few emin scholars from Jerusalem (the French prehistorian Neuville) and Lebanon (Émir M. Chéhab, the Director of Department of Antiquities and leading Lebanese archaeolog and Prof. H. Fleisch, an eminent Jesuit orientalist), who h promised to read papers, could not attend the meeting

On the whole, it may be said that the Congress de mainly with the western Mediterranean ; nearly all t Italian scholars, who were present, and the great majo of the others, were experts either in western Mediterrane prehistory, or classical archæology, or classical philology, w in their discussions of oriental prehistory, archæolog philology and epigraphy, mainly rely on second-hand, o of-date sources. This gathering has shown, as other me ings do, that the various scientific fields are still " tig compartments." It is not easy to say whether it was t fault of the organisers of the Congress or of the Orientalis but all will agree that a closer co-operation between t students of ancient western Mediterranean and of students the ancient Near East will be of great advantage not o to these studies, but also to our knowledge of the ancie world in general.

The Palestine Exploration Fund was represented Dr. David Diringer, who was a delegate of the Universi of Cambridge.

D. D.

Errata—Corrige for the article *The Early Hebrew Book-hand* (PEQ, 1950, pp. 16-

p. 20, 2 par., l. 8, instead of *niddah* read (*niddah*) *hy*'

p. 23, Fig. 1 is upside down, so is also Plate I (following p. 24).

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

cient Hebrew Seals. By A. Reifenberg. London, The East and West Library, 1950. Pp. 58 ; Table of Alphabets. 12*s*. 6*d*.

The need which this little book is intended to satisfy, s long be felt. The importance of the Early Hebrew ls, from artistic, archæological, epigraphic, onomastic, and ner points of view, is now universally recognised, yet no tempt has hitherto been made, either in England or ewhere, to bring the subject as a whole within the reach of e ordinary reader. Thus, the scheme which Dr. A. eifenberg, Professor of Soils at the Hebrew University of rusalem and student of ancient Hebrew seals and coins, rtially at least has set before him, must meet with animous approval. In a small volume he gives us a good llection of Early Hebrew seals, all adequately reproduced d accompanied by short explanations. The author has cluded also seals from neighbouring countries (Phoenician, ramaic, Ammonite, Moabite, and even Greek ones), in der to show their common cultural background. For the me reason, illustrations of contemporary ivories and other jects of art have been given.

No reasonable person will be disposed to complain ecause the author does not offer much that is new (except e section on Hebrew—Phoenician art), although some holars may ask themselves why Dr. Reifenberg has found it ecessary to infringe their copyright, the more so as the equest of consent for publication is generally only a matter courtesy.

The book may be divided into three parts, text (pp. 9–24), lustrations (pp. 27–53), and list of seals, bibliography, etc. p. 54–58). The text consists of the following sections : *rigin, use and purpose of seals*, *Material and technique*, *Language*

and script, *The inscriptions*, *The origin of Hebrew-Phoenician*
The style of Hebrew seals. That the author has a great wea
of knowledge is abundantly manifest, and particularly is
well informed on the manifestations of art in ancient Isr
as may be seen from the sections dealing with artistic a
technical questions, *i.e.* the two first sections and the last
(one wonders why these four sections are not togeth
Much weaker are the two sections dealing with language a
script ; they are written in a more popular style than
other sections (apparently, the author believes that
general reader is a much greater ignoramus in linguistic a
epigraphic questions than in those of style and techniqu
and also contain more inaccuracies. For instance, on p.
lines 10–13, the Ugaritic language is a " pre-Hebre
Canaanite dialect," a few lines below, " . . . Phoenician .
is known from the Ugarit documents and from . . . " On
last line of the same page and on the first two lines of p.
" . . . old Hebrew (Canaanite) script, which was also used
Phoenicians, Moabites, Aramæans, etc." (the Phoenicia
did not use the old Hebrew script, and the term " Canaanit
cannot be applied to Aramaic writing : therefore, a
" One of these "—*sc.* developments of Canaanite writing
is represented by the Aramaic script [p. 13, l. 12–13 fr
bottom] is not correct). Are the statements that the Sama
ostraca are " tax-receipts " (p. 13, l. 11), and that we ha
" about 230 " seals with " Canaanite " inscriptions, accura
The inaccurate statement, " Only state documents such
the coins minted under Bar Cochba (2nd century A.D.) we
still written in the old script " (p. 13) may be partly explain
by the date of the Foreword of this book, April, 1948, wh
the Dead Sea Early Hebrew fragments were not yet d
covered. The omission of a reference to the Maccabae
and previous coins, on the part of the author of *Anci*
Jewish Coins, has either been done on purpose, or may be
" slip of the pen." Finally, it would be preferable to u
the term " Early Hebrew," because both terms " ancie
Hebrew " or " old Hebrew " may be applied, especially
popular books, to ancient square Hebrew writing.

The section on *The inscriptions* is much too short ; a fuller ssification of the inscriptions should have been attempted. is not accurate to state that “ Seals bearing an inscription ly and no pictorial representation . . . belong to the later ebrew (Judaean) period (7th to 6th century B.C.) ” (p. 17).

There can be no doubt that this useful book will sell well d will be reprinted, so that it may not be out of place to ggest the improvement of the Table of Alphabets. (1) olumn 1 : hardly any of Reifenberg's letters are characristically Hebrew ; note particularly, *g*, *d*, *h*, *w*, *z*, *ḥ*, *y*, *m*, *n* and *t*. (2) Columns 2–3 : two types of Greek and atin alphabets (an early one and the classical, printed sans serif ”) are necessary to show a historical connection the Greek and Latin with the Early Hebrew script. ast column : the transliteration is rather curious ; is the rinting of underlined h, t, z easier than *ḥ*, *ṭ*, *ṣ* ? Why use nderlined k instead of *q* ? Why underline *kh* and *sh* ? hy use sometimes *j* for *yôdh* (transliterated *y*), *ch* for *h)aph* (transliterated *kh*), *u* for *wâw* (*w*), etc ? The confusion manifest, for instance, in Nos 18–19, in which *z* is *zayin* o. 18) and *ṣade* (No. 19). Finally, as only 25 Early Hebrew als (out of over a hundred extant) are reproduced, the author ould have added a complete list, with references, of all the arly Hebrew seals.

A work in which every ancient word, and almost every tter, requires careful verification, especially when the book written for the general reader, will naturally contain some istakes. Those which I have ventured to point out, will ppear insignificant to most readers, but authors of such ooks know that even slight inaccuracies are liable to become urces of confusion.

David Diringer.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks following :—

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HARRISON AND SONS, LTD., ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON

[illegible]

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

ANNUAL REPORT
AND ACCOUNTS
WITH
LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS

FOR THE YEAR 1950

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND
2 HINDE STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE, LONDON, W.1

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

SOCIETY FOR THE ACCURATE AND SYSTEMATIC INVESTIGATION OF THE ARCHAEOLOG
THE TOPOGRAPHY, THE GEOLOGY AND PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY, THE MANNERS AN
CUSTOMS OF THE HOLY LAND, FOR BIBLICAL ILLUSTRATION.

Founded 1865.

Patron—HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

President—His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury

Vice Presidents—His Grace the Archbishop of York:
the Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Lamus (Bishop Auxiliary
Westminster);
Sir Henry Dale, O.M., G.B.E., F.R.S.;
the Very Rev. the Chief Rabbi;
the Director of the Islamic Cultural Centre

The Society was established on the basis of the following rules:

1. It was not to be a religious society. That is to say, it should be pledged not to advoca or attack any form of creed or doctrine.
2. It was not to adopt or to defend any side in controversial matters.
3. It was to be conducted on strictly scientific principles.

These rules have been jealously observed. The Society's organ, the Palestine Explorati Quarterly, is open to all opinions, while it records as facts only the actual discoveries and resu of its exploring officers. Although the Society is not a religious society, strictly so called, its wo necessarily possesses unusual interest for Bible Students of all denominations, who find in the resu obtained by exploration much that confirms and illustrates the historical truth of both the Old a New Testaments. In the course of its existence, the Society, with limited funds at its dispos has done an immense amount of work, and published the results in books papers, maps, plans a photographs, primarily for the benefit of its subscribers, and for the advantage of students of t Sacred Scriptures.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Chairman—Prof. G. R. Driver, M.A., F.B.A.

Hon. Treasurer—Miss Kathleen Kenyon, D.Lit., F.S.A.

Hon. Secretary—Rev. Canon C. B. Mortlock, M.A., F.S.A., Hon.A.R.I.B.A.

Miss Estelle Blyth
Col. G. G. S. Clarke, R.E.
O. G. S. Crawford, Esq., M.A.
J. W. Crowfoot, Esq., C.B.E., F.S.A.
Rev. Canon H. Danby, D.D.
D. Diringer, Esq., D.Litt.
G. M. Fitzgerald, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
Prof. J. Garstang, C.B.E., D.Sc., F.S.A.
R. W. Hamilton, Esq., F.S.A.
Prof. S. H. Hooke, M.A., B.D. (*Editor*)
A. M. Hyamson, Esq., O.B.E., F.F Hist.S.
Sir Frederic Kenyon, G.B.E., K.C.B D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A.
Prof. M. E. L. Mallowan, D.Lit F.S.A.
Sir John Myres, D.Litt., F.B.A.
Col. S. F. Newcombe, D.S.O.
Prof. D. Winton Thomas, D.D.
Miss Olga Tufnell, F.S.A.
John Waechter, Esq., Ph.D., F.G.S.

Assistant Secretary—Miss R. O. Wingate, M.A.

Office—2 Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

Bankers—Messrs. Coutts and Co., 16 Cavendish Square, London, W.1.

Auditors—Messrs. Turquand, Youngs and Co., *Chartered Accountants*, 19 Coleman Street, London, E.C.2.

The privileges of Subscribers are as follows:—Annual Subscribers of *One Guinea* (£1 : 1 : o or more, will receive the Palestine Exploration Quarterly, and can purchase other publication of the Fund and of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem at reduced prices. Annu Subscribers of not less than *Two Guineas* (£2 : 2 : 0) to either the Palestine Exploration Fund, c the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, or of One Guinea to each, will receive the Quarterl and the Memoirs and Annuals of both institutions as published, gratis.

Subscriptions and Income Tax. Subscribers who covenant to pay their subscriptions regularl for a period of seven years to cease at death, enable the Fund to benefit by the recovery of Incom Tax thereon at no cost to themselves. A suitable form of Covenant can, if desired, be obtained b application to the Secretary.

Subscribers in the United States of America may remit to the National City Bank, 55 Wa Street, New York, with instruction to credit Messrs. Coutts & Co., or Palestine Exploration Fund.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1950.

The Executive Committee reports that Mr. J. W. Crowfoot has found himself unable, to the ommittee's deep regret, to continue as Chairman and has resigned his office. The Executive ommittee wishes to thank him for his great services and it is also happy to report that he remains member of the Committee, which will therefore not be deprived of his knowledge of Palestine and s experience in archaeology in the field. The Committee also records with regret the resignation of r Charles Arden Close and thanks him for his long and devoted services.

The interest in the Hebrew Scrolls from the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea, recorded in the st year's Report, continues unabated and several of this year's lectures have been devoted to them. ew now doubt their antiquity and debate is centred on the question of their date. The Society's cturers took now one and now the other side in the controversy about the date.

The Chair at the Annual Meeting on 28th June, was taken by Captain Sir Bruce Ingram, O.B.E., C., who as editor of the *Illustrated London News* has done possibly more than any one in England spread and maintain a general interest in archaeology; and Professor R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, .I.E., M.C., D.Litt., gave a most interesting lecture on the Eastern Frontier of the Roman Empire, lustrated by remarkably fine slides.

Seven other lectures were given during the year: on 25th January by Miss Olga Tufnell on Excavations at Tell ed-Duweir, 1932-1938", on 15th February by Professor E. L. Sukenik on e "Discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls", on 22nd March by Dr. S. A. Birnbaum on "How old are e Cave Manuscripts ?", on 23rd May by Mr. C. N. Johns on "Palestine of the Crusades", on nd November by Professor G. R. Driver on "The newly-found Hebrew Scrolls" (which Professor . H. Hooke kindly read in the absence through sudden illness of the lecturer), on 23rd November y Mr. C. J. Gadd on "Sumarian Ideas of the After Life", and on 21st December by Mr. R. D. arnett on "Trade-Routes and Commerce before 300 B.C.".

The Committee desires to express its thanks for the undermentioned contributions to the uarterly: "The age of Jeremiah in the light of recent archaeological discovery" by Professor D. W. homas, "The Early Hebrew Book-hand" by Dr. David Diringer, "The Menorah of the Arch of itus" by Maximilian Kon, "Mediaeval Monasteries of Eastern Palestine" by H. T. Norris, "The roblem of Alashiya" by A. Jirku, "Epigraphical gleanings from Gezer" by N. Avigad, "On some ossible early occurrences of the camel in Palestine" by B. S. J. Isserlin, "Excavations at Tell ed-uweir, Palestine, directed by the late J. L. Starkey, 1932-38" by Miss Olga Tufnell, "The City eposits at Tell ed-Duweir: a summary of the stratification" by B. S. J. Isserlin and Miss Olga ufnell, "Some Archaeological news from Israel" by B. S. J. Isserlin, "Zechariah's Enigmatical ontribution to the Corner-stone" by E. E. le Bas, "Report on the International Congress of Mediter-anean Prehistory and Protohistory" by Dr. D. Diringer.

Conditions in Palestine have settled down into an uneasy calm, and the immediate danger of damage to sites, buildings and museums, seems to have passed. The Fund proposes therefore to ake part with the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem in excavation on the site of Jericho t the beginning of 1952, all being well, under the direction of Miss Kathleen Kenyon.

The financial resources of the Fund have received a welcome addition in a legacy of £250 from he estate of the late Professor S. A. Cook. This sum has, for the time being, been invested; but he Fund is at liberty to use the capital should the need arise. This year the ordinary income only xceeds the ordinary expenditure by £20. Over the past ten years or so, some £700 of savings have ccumulated, but now that there is a prospect of active work in Palestine, in which the Fund will wish to participate, these savings will find useful employment. It is thus most urgent that the annual ncome should be augmented, so that it will not prove necessary to limit the contribution of the Fund to such work once the savings, due to past exceptional circumstances, are exhausted. During he past year there has been a net loss of twenty-three subscribers, though the amount of decline in ubscriptions is not as great as is suggested by the accounts in which the 1949 figure is inflated by considerable amount of paid-up arrears. Nevertheless, new subscribers and new Covenants enabling income tax to be recovered are urgently needed.

Signed on behalf of the Executive Committee,

G. R. Driver, *Chairman.*
C. B. Mortlock, *Hon. Secretary.*

May, 1951.

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND, 1950

BALANCE SHEET, 31ST DECEMBER, 1950

1949		£ s. d.	
	CAPITAL:—		
	Authorized—200 Shares of £1 each	200 0 0	
	Issued—10 Shares of £1 each, not called		
	SURPLUS OF ASSETS OVER LIABILITIES (Excluding donated property)		
£3,543	Amount as per last Balance Sheet...	3,607 18 10	
65	*Add:* Excess of Income over Expenditure for year	376 12 0	
3,608			3,98
	CURRENT LIABILITIES:—		
170	Sundry Creditors for Current Expenses	34 16 0	
91	Archaeological Survey of Palestine	91 13 3	
92	Subscriptions in Advance	66 12 11	
			19
£3,961			£4,17

1949			£ s. d.	
	FIXED ASSETS:—			
	Freehold Property—Donated—No. 2 Hinde Street (estimated value £5,000)			
£1,189	Alterations and Improvements No. 2 Hinde Street at net book value 1st July, 1948			1,18
382	Museum, Library and Storeroom, Fixtures, Fittings, Furniture, etc., at net book value 1st July, 1948			38
	Typewriter at cost		39 10 0	
	Less: Depreciation to date		7 0 0	
36				3
—	Jewish Colonial Trust—Donated—50 Ordinary Shares of £1 each, fully paid			
1,607				1,60
	CURRENT ASSETS:—			
—	Stocks of Publications, Maps, Books, Models, Lantern Slides, Library and Antiques		—	
14	Subscriptions in Arrear		14 3 6	
50	Rent Receivable in Arrear		—	
	Investments—Post Office Issue—at cost			
	£374 12 0 3½% Conversion Stock ...	400 0 0		
	£50 0 0 3% Savings Bonds 1955/65 ...	50 0 0		
	£264 1 8 2½% Savings Bonds 1964/67 ...	250 0 0		
	£300 0 0 3% Defence Bonds	300 0 0		
	£700 0 0 2½% Defence Bonds	700 0 0		
1,450	(market value £1,660)		1,700 0 0	
311	Cash at Bank, on Current Account and in hand...		118 4 0	
529	Cash on Deposit		741 15 6	
				2,57
£3,961				£4,17

AUDITORS' REPORT TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

We have examined the above Balance Sheet, Receipts and Payments Account and Incor
Expenditure Account which are in agreement with the Fund's books of account and we have obta
the information and explanations which, to the best of our knowledge and belief, were necessary
purposes of our audit. Proper books of account have been kept by the Fund, so far as appears fr
examination thereof.

In our opinion and to the best of our information and according to the explanations given to
said Accounts give the information required by the Companies Act 1948, in the manner required and
a true and fair view of the state of affairs as at 31st December, 1950, and of the excess of Incon
Expenditure for the year.

19 COLEMAN STREET,
LONDON, E.C.2.
5th March, 1951.

(*Signed*) TURQUAND, YOUNGS & CO.
Chartered Accou

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT
FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1950

RECEIPTS		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Balance—31st December, 1949—			
At Bank and in hand		311 5 3	
Post Office Savings Bank		528 11 6	
			839 16 9
,, Subscriptions and Donations including Local Societies		366 15 11	
,, Subscriptions in Advance		66 12 11	
,, Refund of Income Tax on Covenanted Subscriptions		69 8 8	
,, Legacy Received from the estate of late Professor S. A. Cook ...		250 0 0	
,, Sales of Publications		174 9 6	
,, Rents		681 5 0	
,, *Dividends Received*—Gross:			
On £374 12s. 0d. 3½% Conversion Loan ...	13 2 2		
On £300 3% Defence Bonds ...	9 0 0		
On £700 2½% do.	17 10 0		
On £50 3% Savings Bonds 1955/65	1 10 0		
On £264 1s. 8d. 2½% Savings Bonds 1964/67 (Purchased 27/6/50)	3 6 0		
	44 8 2		
Less Tax paid on dividend on 2½% Savings Bonds 1964/67 to be recovered	1 9 8		
		42 18 6	
,, Interest Received:—			
On Post Office Savings Bank	13 4 0		
On Deposit Account	5		
		13 4 5	
,, Hire of Slides and Films		4 18 6	
,, Proceeds of Sale of Typewriter		—	
			1,669 13 5
			£2,509 10 2

PAYMENTS	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Printing—Quarterly	356 17 0	
Lecture Cards	16 17 9	
Annual Report	15 3 6	
		388 18 3
,, Library and Librarian		67 8 7
,, Salaries, Wages and Pensions		725 0 0
,, Repairs		17 9 9
,, Insurance		9 16 2
,, Rates		17 4 2
,, Lighting and Heating		27 0 11
,, Postage and Telephone		33 9 8
,, Stationery and Sundries		64 19 2
,, Lectures and Lantern Slides		8 10 0
,, Purchase of New Typewriter		—
,, Cheque Books		16 0
,, Audit Fee		—
,, Surveyors Fees		18 18 0
,, Contribution to Survey by British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem ...		20 0 0
		1,399 10 8
,, Purchase of £264 1s. 8d. 2½% Savings Bonds 1964/67		250 0 0
,, Balance—31st December, 1950		
At Bank and in hand	118 4 0	
Cash on Deposit	741 15 6	
		859 19 6
		£2,509 10 2

G. R. Driver, *Chairman.*
Kathleen M. Kenyon, *Hon. Treasurer.*

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1950

1949		£	s.	d.	
	Payments for the year as per Receipts and Payments Account				1,3
	Less: Creditors at 31st December, 1949				1
£1,124					1,2
3	*Add:* Depreciation on Typewriter	3	10	0	
170	Creditors at 31st December, 1950	34	16	0	
50	Payments in Advance	—			
1,347					1,2
65	Balance, being Excess of Income over Expenditure (of which £250 was a legacy)				3
£1,412					£1,6

NOTE:—£100 has been included in respect of remuneration to a member of the Executive Committee.

1949		£	s.	d.	
	Receipts for year as per Receipts and Payments Account				1,6
	Less: Subscriptions in Arrears at 31st December, 1949 ...	14	12	6	
	Subscriptions in Advance	66	12	11	
	Rent Receivable in Arrear at 31st December, 1949 ...	50	0	0	
					1
£1,330					£1,5
14	*Add:* Subscriptions in Arrear at 31st December, 1950 ...	14	3	6	
18	Subscriptions Received in Advance at 31st December, 1949	91	16	6	
50	Rent Receivable in Arrear	—			
					1
£1,412					£1,6

NOTE: No depreciation for the year has been provided on Alterations and Improvements to No Street or on Museum, Library and Storeroom, Fixtures, Fittings and Furniture, etc.

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS

RECEIVED BETWEEN 1ST JANUARY AND 31ST DECEMBER, 1950, INCLUSI

* Asterisks denote covenanted subscriptions

If any omission or mistake be observed in the following lists, the Secretary will be very gla to be informed of it, and will rectify the error in the next Annual Report.

	£	s.	d.
*Alford, Miss M. ...	1	18	2
*Arden-Close, Sir Charles	2	2	0
Arnold, Miss		19	6
Ashmole, Professor B.	1	1	0
*Barham, S. P., Esq. ...	1	1	0
*Barnett, Mrs. Lake ...	2	2	0
Barron, Mrs. J. B. ...	1	1	0
Bate, Miss D. M. ...	1	1	0
Bell, G. W.	1	1	0
Ben-Dor, Dr. I. ...	2	3	0
*Bentley, Rev. C. E. ...	1	1	0
*Bentwich, Prof. N. ...	1	1	0
Blair, Dr. D. P. ...	1	1	0
Carried forward	£17	12	8

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	£17	12	8
*Blyth, Miss E. ...	1	1	0
*Boulton, W. H., Esq.	1	1	0
*Bourke-Borrowes, D., Esq.	1	1	0
Bower, Miss E. R. ...	1	14	8
Bridges, W. T., Esq.	1	1	0
*Bristow, E., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Brown, Miss A. Carnegie	1	1	0
*Buchanan, A. G., Esq.	1	1	0
*Bushell, W. F., Esq. ...	1	1	0
*Caiger, Rev., S. L. ...	1	1	0
*Carter, J., Esq. ...	4	4	0
Carried forward	£33	0	4

Brought forward
*Catterson, S. M., Esq.
*Cawley, Rev. Dr. F. ...
Cawley, Rev. Dr. F., *gi*
Cerny, Rev. C. A. ..
Chalmers-Hunt, D. R., Esq. ... ...
Clark, A. P. S., Esq. ...
Clark, Miss C. W. ..
*Clarke, Lt.-Col. G. G.
Clarnett, A. C., Esq. ...
Cohen, D., Esq. ..
Cooper, Dr. D. L. ...
Carried forward

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS

	£	s.	d.
ward	£45	13	10
O. G. S., Esq.	1	1	0
J. W., Esq.	1	1	0
r. E. Cecil	1	1	0
B., Esq. ...	1	18	2
ol. W. L. ...	1	1	0
r. D. ...	1	1	0
f. G. R. ...	2	2	0
v. P. ...	1	1	0
., Esq. ...	1	1	0
v. the Bishop	1	0	0
M. P., Esq.	1	1	0
E. C., Esq. ...	1	1	0
H., Esq. ...	1	1	0
i L. A. ...	1	1	0
., Esq. ...	1	1	0
, G. M., Esq.	2	2	0
., Esq. ...	1	6	6
M. J. ...	1	1	0
ss H. C. ...	2	0	0
the Misses...	1	1	0
A.	1	1	0
v. R. C. ...	1	1	0
Dr. A. H. ...	2	2	0
ev. H. ...	1	1	0
Prof. J. ...	1	1	0
Prof. J., *gift*	1	1	0
rs.	1	1	0
. M., Esq. ...	1	1	0
r. F. M. ...	1	1	0
s T.	1	1	0
, Prof. A. ...	1	1	0
r. O. R. ...	1	1	0
Dr. H. G. K.	1	1	0
Rev. J. E. K.	1	1	0
., Esq. ...	1	1	0
R. W., Esq.	1	1	0
G. L., Esq. ...	2	2	0
Lady ...	1	1	0
n, R. B., Esq.	1	11	6
Miss K. H.	5	0	0
avies, Prof. G.	1	1	0
late Dr. ...	1	1	0
R. T. H., Esq.	2	2	0
Miss R. C. ...	1	1	0
, Miss E. W.	1	1	0
, Prof. D. ...	1	2	6
v. Dr. F. J.	1	1	0
S. F., Esq.	1	1	0
of. S. H. ...	1	1	0
. S.	1	0	5
n, Rev. J. W.	1	1	0
ev. W. R. ...	1	1	0
, A. M., Esq.	1	1	0
H., Esq. ...	1	1	0
D., Esq. ...	2	2	0
. S. J., Esq....	1	1	0
, Rt. Rev., the n Bishop in ...	1	1	0
A. R., Esq. ...	1	1	0
v. J. M. ...	1	1	0
Sir Frederic ...	1	1	0
Miss K. M. ...	1	1	0
. E., Esq. ...	1	1	0
E., Esq. ...	1	1	0
W. E., Esq....	2	2	0
v. Dr. C. ...	1	1	0
J., Esq. ...	1	1	0
areham, the ntess ...	1	1	0
. J. W., Esq....	2	2	0
r, R. A. S., Esq.	1	1	0
, Archdeacon C.	1	1	0
in, E. C. B., Esq.	3	19	8
n, Prof. W. H.	1	14	8
, M. E. L., Esq.	1	1	0
tein, E., Esq.	1	1	0
H., Esq. ...	1	1	0
rward	£143	0	3

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	143	0	3
Matthew, H. M., Esq.	1	1	0
Mayer, Prof. L. A. ...	1	1	0
Morrell, C., Esq. ...		10	6
*Mortlock, Canon C. B.	1	1	0
Moysey, C. F., Esq.	1	1	0
Myers, Rev. E. ...	2	2	0
Myers, Rev. J. M. ...	1	1	0
Nathan, Rt. Hon. Viscount	1	1	0
*Newcombe, Col. S. F.	1	1	0
*Newman, E. W., Esq.	2	2	0
Newman, E. W., Esq. *gift*	1	1	0
Noording, Messrs. ...	2	3	6
*Norris, Dr. C. T. ...	2	2	0
Palestine Potash Ltd. ...	2	2	0
*Parfit, Rev. Canon J. T.	1	1	0
*Parkes, Rev. Dr. J. W.	1	1	0
Parkminster, Very Rev. the Prior of ...	1	1	0
Pearce, H. W., Esq. ...	2	2	0
Pick, W. ,Esq. ...	1	2	6
Reeves, A. J., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Reifenberg, Dr. A. ...	2	2	0
Richmond-Brown, R., Esq.	1	1	0
*Richards, Miss K. D.	3	3	0
*Robertson, Prof. E. ...	1	1	0
*Rowley, Rev. Dr. H. H.	1	1	0
Rowton, Major M. B....	1	1	0
*Salaman, Dr. R. N. ...	1	1	0
Sanders, M., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Schubeler, the late Mrs.	1	1	0
*Shepstone, H. J., Esq.	1	1	0
Simons, Dr. F. J. ...	2	2	0
Simpson, Rev. E. ...	1	1	0
*Skeat, W. W., Esq. ...	3	3	0
*Sloan, Mrs. E. ...	1	1	0
Smith, Rt. Rev. Linton	1	1	0
Smith, Prof. S. ...	1	1	0
*Stalker, Rev. D. ...	1	0	0
Stalker, Rev. D., *gift* ...		1	0
Stewart, J. R., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Tervit, A., Esq. ...	2	2	0
*Thomas, Prof. D. Winton	1	1	0
*Thornton-Duesbury, Rev. J. P.	2	2	0
Trenkle, Dr. G. ...	1	1	0
Truro, Rt. Rev. Bishop of	2	2	0
Tufnell, Miss, A. J. ...	1	1	0
*Tufnell, Miss Olga ...	1	1	0
Twilley, Rev. J. F. ...	2	2	0
Ubach, R. P. Bonaventure	2	1	8
Van Doesburgh ...	1	2	6
Waechter, J., Esq. ...	2	2	0
Wagner, D. J., Esq. ...	2	2	0
*Walsh, A. St. G., Esq.	2	2	0
Warde-Aldam, Col. W. St. A.	1	1	0
Were, Miss		5	0
White, Major A. W. ...	1	1	0
White, W. E., Esq. ...	1	1	0
*Wiseman, D. J., Esq.	1	1	0
Zimmerman, Rev. J. D.	2	2	0

LIBRARIES:

	£	s.	d.
South African Public Library	1	1	0
Merensky Bibl., Pretoria	1	1	0
University Library, Stellenbosch	2	2	0
Australian Institute of Archaeology	2	2	0
St. Andrew's College, N.S.W.	1	2	6
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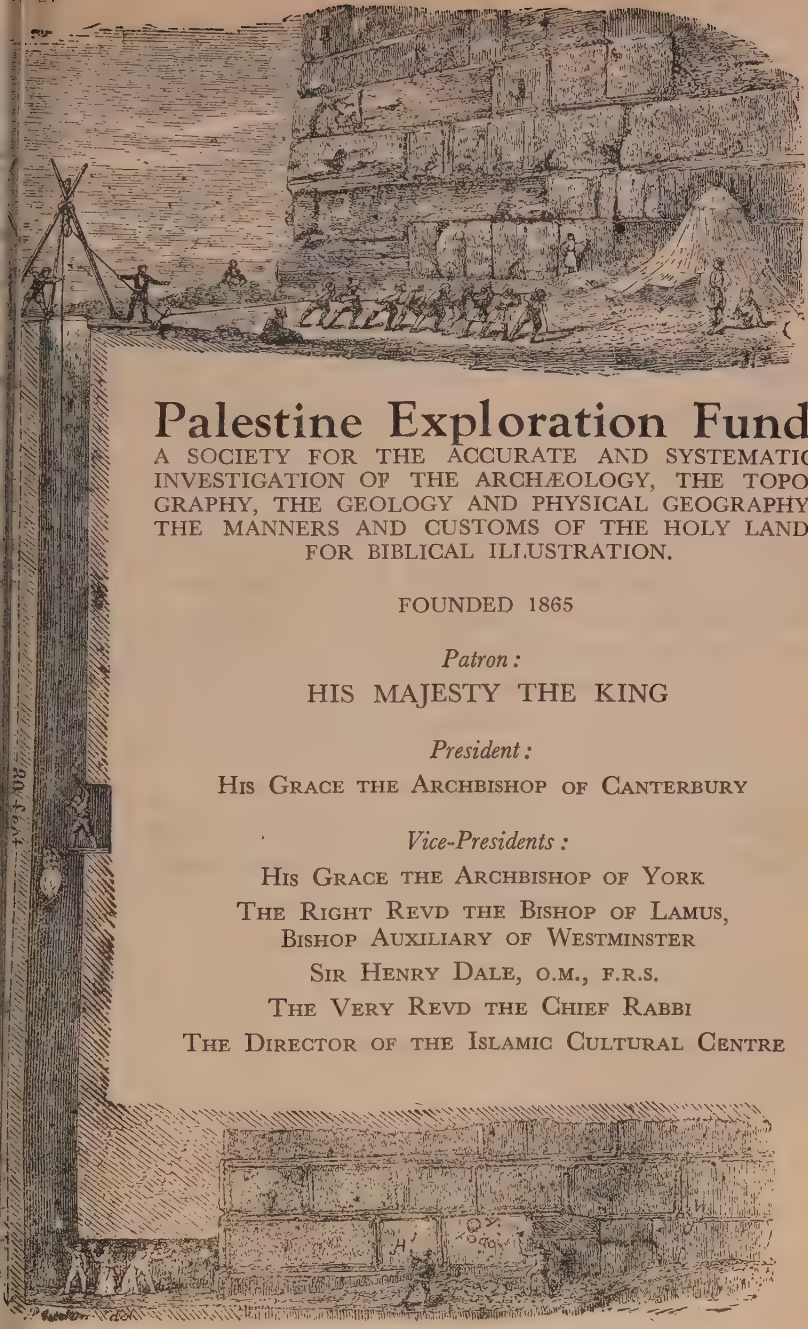

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NOTES AND NEWS

The battle of the Scrolls continues to rage, and dates roposed range from the 2nd century B.C. to the 10th century .D. Meanwhile publication has begun, and we now have n excellent edition of the Isaiah and Habakkuk scrolls in acsimile and transcription, published by the American chools of Oriental Research, and edited by Professor Millar urrows with the assistance of Dr. J. C. Trever and Professor V. H. Brownlee. It is obtainable through Basil Blackwell, Oxford. A further volume is ready to appear. The hero or illain, according to the point of view, of the discovery, Dr. Trever, is at present in England making contacts with hose who are interested in the Scrolls. He has been able to ive a first-hand account of the circumstances connected with he finding and identification of the MSS., and to clear up ome of the unfortunate misunderstandings which have risen. It would appear that there were discrepancies in the arious accounts of how the MSS. came into the hands of the yrian Monastery of St. Mark in Jerusalem, and some things till remain obscure. But those in charge at the American chool in Jerusalem were in no way responsible for these bscurities, and it is clear that they acted in perfect good aith. There is every cause for satisfaction that the MSS. re in good hands, and will be published with the aid of all he scholarly and financial resources so amply available in he United States.

In a recent issue of *The Times*, the Director of the British nstitute of Archaeology at Ankara, Mr. Seton Lloyd, draws ttention to an ancient city of considerable interest both to istorians of the Middle East and to biblical students. It is he city of Harran, one of the two great centres of the cult of the Mesopotamian Moon-god, Sin, and the place where Abraham, according to Hebrew tradition, halted for a time on his journey from Ur to the Land of Promise. Mr. Set Lloyd's article contains an interesting sketch of the history Harran, and an account of the exploratory survey made him in the summer of 1950 with the object of making a ne and more detailed plan of the site. A further excavation the site is to take place next month in collaboration with th Turkish Antiquities Department, and the British Institute Archaeology at Ankara has opened a special fund for th purpose.

Those who are interested in the archaeology of Palesti and Transjordan will be glad to know that the Ordnan Survey has printed an archaeological map of the Hashemi Kingdom of the Jordan, compiled and drawn by the Depar ment of Lands and Surveys of the Jordan, from informati supplied by the Department of Antiquities. The map is three sheets, Amman, Karak, and Ma'an, and the price 3*s*. per sheet. It is obtainable from Messrs. Stanford of Lon Acre.

The University of Chicago Press has published a boo which will be of interest to students of the Old Testamen It is by Dr. Heidel, the author of *The Babylonian Genesis*, an is entitled *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Paralle* Much new material relating to the Epic has been discovere in recent years, and the author has made good use of thi giving not only a new translation of the text of the poem but also translations of other cuneiform texts related to vario parts of the Epic. He has devoted special attention to th differences between the Babylonian and the Hebrew tradition of the Flood, stressing, as is the present tendency in America scholarship, the differences as against the similarities. Bu the book cannot fail to be of use to Bible students.

For the last quarter of a century Gressmann's *Texte un Bilder zum Alten Testament* has been the indispensable com panion of all students of Biblical archaeology, and it has lon en a matter for regret that there should be no similar book English. This need has now been met, so far as texts are ncerned, by the publication of a sumptuous volume entitled *cient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament.* It is ublished by the *Princeton University Press* under the editorship Professor J. B. Pritchard with the assistance of a distin- uished list of translators and annotators. In the Introduction e Editor expresses the hope that " this volume of trans- tions, intended primarily for students of the Old Testament, ill serve to give a perspective for a better understanding of e likenesses and the differences which existed between Israel nd the surrounding cultures." The book will receive a full view in the next issue of this journal. Meanwhile it may said that the work is a magnificent achievement and an vent of the highest importance in the field of oriental and iblical scholarship. Among other material not to be found Gressmann, since it was not then available, may be entioned translations of all the most important Ugaritic xts, of the texts from Mari, of the Lachish Ostraca, of arious Hittite documents, of new Sumerian myths, and of ew Egyptian material. There are also new translations of any texts already familiar, such as the Babylonian Epic of reation. The total amount of material far surpasses that ontained in Gressmann. Sincere and cordial congratulations ust be offered to the University of Princeton and to all the merican scholars who have contributed to this great work. t is to be hoped that a companion volume corresponding to ressmann's *Bilder* may soon appear to crown the achieve- ent.

The Journal of Near Eastern Studies for July, 1950, ontains an interesting article by G. Douglas Young on garitic prosody. The problem of Ugaritic prosody is of ouble importance. A correct understanding of the pattern f Ugaritic poetry is a great help to the understanding of the eaning of these difficult texts; but it also illustrates the elated problem of the structure of Hebrew poetry, and erves to correct earlier theories about Hebrew metres.

The publication in the United States of the first instalm of what are generally called the Dead Sea Scrolls is beginn to produce its harvest of critical studies. In the October, 19 issue of the Revue Biblique, there is a careful study of Isaiah scroll by R. P. Barthélemy, O.P. His examinat shows, as might be expected, that an *editio princeps* will alw suffer from being the first in the field. He lists many ca in which the transliteration of the MS. is open to questi and some criticism, perhaps justifiable, of the photograp An interesting point arises from the comparison of the t of the MS. under examination with that of the other exemp of the Isaiah text published by Professor Sukenik. T learned Father suggests that Sukenik's text may represen witness to the " orthodox " text of the Sopherim, while present MS. represents one of the various types of popu tradition. He goes on to say that " It is to this popu tradition, little or not at all codified, and of which we ha had hitherto no direct knowledge, that the MSS. belo which gave birth to the ancient (LXX) or popular (Targu versions." A specially interesting section of this useful stu deals with what the author calls " the Messianic variant which certainly show some startling readings. The arti merits careful study.

Another interesting study by R.P. J. T. Milik in v XXXI, 4 of Biblica, deals with the jars from the Ain Feshk cave as compared with specimens from the Ptolemaic peri The author of the article thinks that there is " a morph logical similarity between the jars from Der et-Medina a those from the Dead Sea, and suggests that there are groun for believing that this type of Palestinian pottery is Egyptian origin.

LINEN TEXTILES FROM THE CAVE OF AIN FESHKHA IN THE JORDAN VALLEY

By G. M. Crowfoot

In his article on the Dead Sea Scrolls in the *Palestine xploration Quarterly*, July—October, 1949, Mr. Lankester arding described how in the spring of the year, he, with ère de Vaux, had visited the cave of Ain Feshkha, and, in ree weeks' excavation of the filling of the floor and the ubbish outside, had recovered some hundreds of fragments manuscripts, sherds from about forty store jars and bowl ds, and a quantity of linen "which would appear to have een used as packing for the scrolls in the pots as well as for rapping them." The use of the textiles as wrappers was onfirmed on further examination ; the remains of one croll was found still in its original covering, a small square of nen ; while Dr. Sukenik writes that a member of the ssyrian Community in Jerusalem told him that the edouins who sold the scrolls said that when they took them om the jars "they had a very strong smell ; therefore the edouins simply tore off the wrappings and threw them way. And indeed" he concludes, "one of our scrolls hich later turned out to be a part of the Book of Isaiah, still howed threads from the wrappers." Later study of the extiles has shown that nearly all the fragments found appear o come from small cloths definitely shaped and sewn and uitable for this special purpose, though pieces found folded nto pads may have formed a packing for the scrolls inside he pots, and others with twisted corners and string round hem are possibly covers once tied over the jar tops. But efore the pieces could be examined in detail much preliminary work was necessary.

When some of the material was brought to England by Mr. Harding in 1949, he asked me to examine and study it, and later a second box full of pieces was sent over from

Transjordan. At his request also Major G. O. Searle
H.M. Norfolk Flax Establishment kindly agreed to exami
the fibre to make sure that the textiles were certainly line

The first box was unpacked on 3rd July, 1949, on th
occasion of a visit from Mr. R. Hamilton. When it w
opened the odour given off was like that of an Ancie
Egyptian tomb, and Mr. Hamilton after taking one whiff
it suggested that further examination should be made in th
garden ! We found that the textile fragments were full of
thick dark brown dust mixed with animal droppings, and
was obvious that some cleansing would have to be don
Advice was sought from the Director of the Textile Depar
ment of the Victoria and Albert Museum, and subsequent
also from Miss Louisa Bellinger of the Textile Museum
the District of Columbia, Washington, U.S.A. Througho
the rest of the summer, under their expert direction, as
were, I cleaned the cloth fragments one by one, thoug
many were so rotten that only very little cleaning w
possible. The detergent Lissapol N[1], much diluted wit
distilled water, was used, and then rinsed off in sever
waters. A number of the smaller pieces were at first le
in the hope that it would not be necessary to treat them
but they became damp, and samples were sent to Maj
Searle for laboratory examination ; he advised that a
these pieces should be washed to remove injurious Dead Se
salts[2]. So washed they were in soft water, which, if it di
not cleanse thoroughly, at any rate made them safe for th
time being.

---

[1] Kindly supplied by Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd.

[2] " There is little doubt that the hygroscopic nature of the materi
is due to heavy contamination with deliquescent salts such as would b
derived from the Dead Sea . . . these are easily soluble, so the best way
preserving the specimens is simply to wash them in successive lots of war
water. The wet samples contained approximately 30 per cent. of the
weight of water-soluble material . . . We did not do a quantitative analys
but we determined Ferric iron—a trace ; Calcium, Magnesium, Sodium
Potassium—in quantity ; Phosphate—a trace ; Chloride—considerabl
amount ; Sulphate—fair amount. Sodium chloride, Magnesium chlo
ide and Calcium chloride are all very deliquescent." G. O. Searle.

During this time microscopic enquiry into the nature of fibre had been successfully completed by Major Searle. specimens examined, both natural and blue, were nitely of flax. In announcing this to me on 23rd Sep- ber, 1949, he explained why the enquiry had been cult. He said : “ There was never any doubt but what were either flax or hemp, but . . . there is only one utable test for distinguishing these two and that is the ction of the fibrils in the outer layer of the ultimate fibre. np is Z or right hand and flax is S or left hand. In an egraded sample, even fully bleached, the fibril structure omparatively easy to demonstrate by calcium chloride tment and the compressing of the specimen.” The lan samples “ are all so degraded that they break down fragments on compression and it is only occasionally one can get a fibre to show a clear spiral structure . . . tograph No. 4 x 450 (your sample No. 4) is possibly the . In the narrower part of the fibre the twist is definitely nd you can see traces of the opposite Z twist underneath. the top left-hand corner you are looking at the Z twist he lower surface.” (See Pl. V, 1.) This same sample, 4, on wetting and drying also showed “ the clockwise ing twist of the ultimate fibre of flax.”

With the fibre determined as linen and the worst troubles leansing over, study could go forward in comfort. Up the present thirty-six pieces have been catalogued, and st of these have been mounted between perspex, with the d assistance of Dr. Bushnell of the Museum of Ethnology Archæology, Cambridge. The work is by no means nplete, but it is sufficiently advanced for a preliminary ort, and fifteen of the more representative catalogued ces have been chosen for publication here. These include mples of cloths decorated with blue lines, cloths with nges, and plain cloths ; and of the various methods of ating their edges.

tes I, II and III. Cloths with blue lines.

No. 1. (Plates I, II : figs. 1, 2, 3.) Cloth, damaged, with decoration in blue lines. Length 57 cm., brea 60 cm. Part of the selvedge is preserved on both sides ; edges above and below are cut, turned over and overse with the warp ends hanging down untidily. Above, edge is only preserved for 4·4 cm. beyond the corner, an piece 1·6 cm. in length a little further along.

Both warp and weft are S spun, as they are in every p of linen from the cave ; here, in No. 1, the warp is slig finer than the weft. The blue thread is also S spun, with only a very slight twist. The weave is fairly c variable, with warps predominating. The count in s places is about 20 x 12 per cm., in others 18 x 12 ; in place near the selvedge it is as high as 22 x 12 per cm.

Weft and warp both vary in colour, giving the effec brown stripes and bands, but there does not seem any reg arrangement of them. The dye used in a fragment of

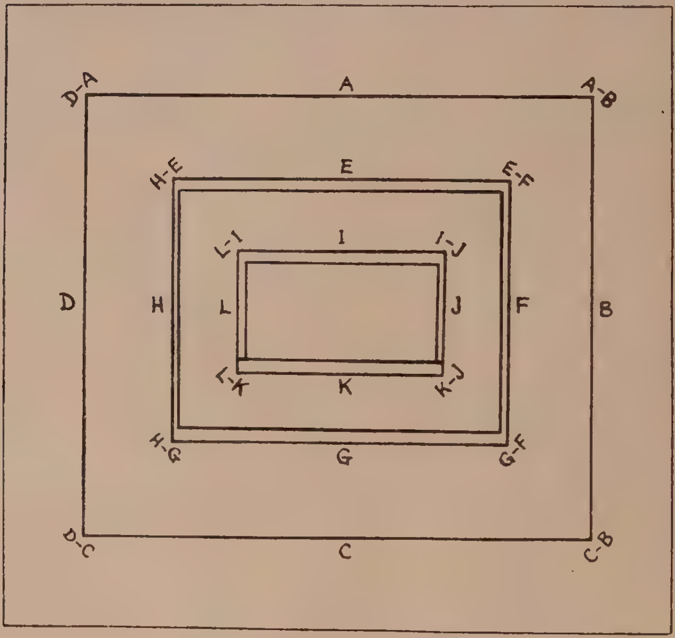
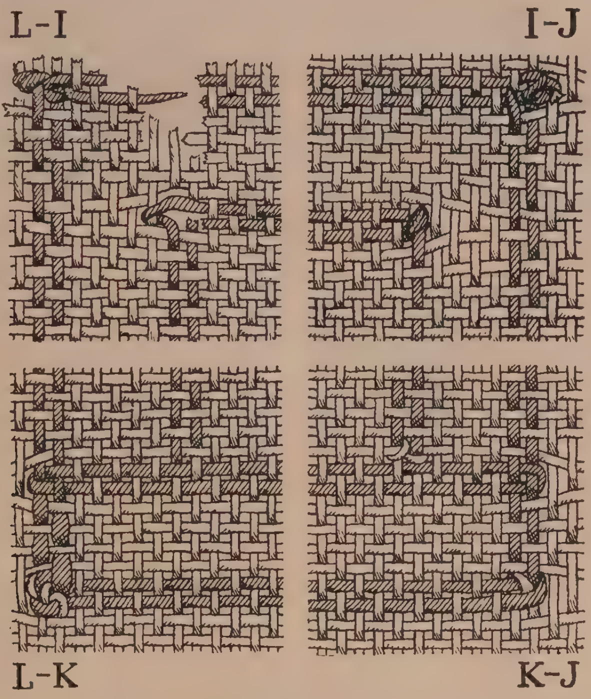


Fig. 1. Restoration of design of rectangles, No. 1. Scale 1 : 6

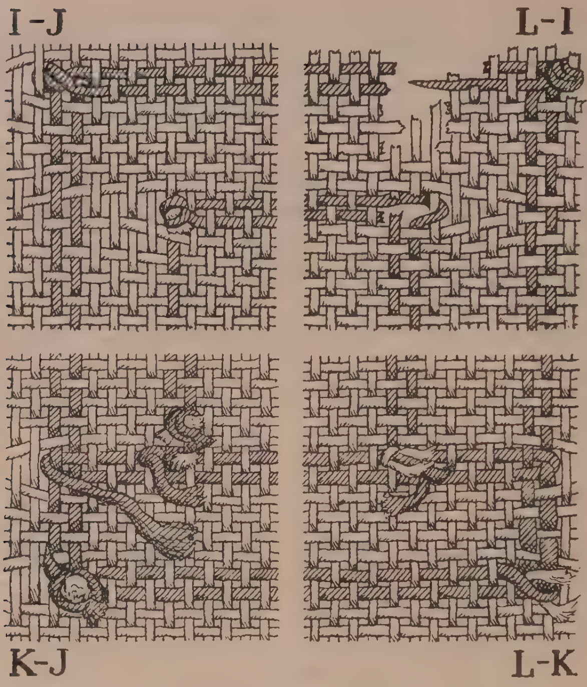
ad, catalogued as No. 9, was examined by the Shirley itute and considered to be undoubtedly indigo ; there e no loose blue threads available from No. 1 for testing, it can safely be assumed that indigo was used for all blue s.

A restoration is given on Fig. 1 of the design of rectangles blue line. The decoration is simple enough, but on mination presents a most intriguing weaving problem, the blue weft threads actually turn round corners and ome warps. This was at first very difficult to prove, but be clearly seen in the enlarged photographs and drawings Pl. II and fig. 2, of the four corners of the third or inner angle. At L–I, on the inner line, two wefts, one broken



Front.

Fig. 2. Corners of inner rectangle from No. 1.



Back.

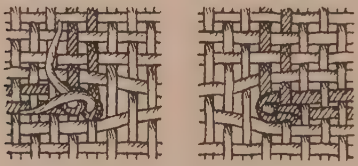


Fig. 3. Corner A–B, outermost rectangle, No. 1. Front (left), back (right).

but the other intact, are seen turning into warps. At
corner two blue warps are substituted for two natural wa
and the ends of the natural warps can be found twine
knotted at the back of the cloth (see especially corner
back, and an even clearer example at corner A–B from
outer rectangle on fig. 3). The only exception to

rocedure is at corner I–J, where only one natural warp is ut away, and a blue warp runs down alone for 4 cm. until substitution is made and two blue warps are seen again at orner K–J.

The blue wefts have no equivalent natural wefts meeting hem, and the slight gap caused by their absence can be een in several places on Pl. II and fig. 2 near the turn, as ndeed it can on the original, though it soon becomes hardly oticeable in the close weave. These observations hold ood also for all corners preserved on the larger outer ectangles ; in all cases blue warps meet natural warps and lue wefts have no equivalent natural wefts to meet them.

How was this done ? I think myself that it was woven, ut it has been suggested, in view of the obvious difficulties, hat embroidery, in a kind of drawn-thread work, would be asier. We have, in several other examples, lines in the veft which are obviously woven (e.g., No. 25, Pl. III), and ne of embroidery, a darned line between two woven ones on No. 19b (Pl. III, 1), so both weaving and embroidery are in use for the blue decoration on these cloths.

Supposing that the design was woven in, the blue threads vould have to be entered as wefts to become warps and end s wefts again. Their passage as wefts presents no difficulies, but their control as warps would mean intricacies of ying and untying inimical to tension, though that might be nitigated by leaving the natural warps in the heddles and etting them float at the back till required again. When inished the long floats could be cut and the ends tied at the back. If we imagine that such weaving was actually done then in the inner rectangle with its two rows of two blue threads, there would be an entry of four blue threads of weft. At the close of the rectangle then there should be at least eight ends of blue thread to be accounted for. At the close of the rectangle shown on fig. 2, K–J and L–K (back) do show the kind of condition one would expect.

I can find no exact parallel for this weaving technique, though there are two very interesting fine linen Egyptian textiles[1] in which blue wefts are thrown in and then becor warps, while the unwanted natural warps are cut awa In these cases, however, the blue warps do not again becom wefts but continue to form part of a border and fringe.

If the rectangles had been embroidered one wou perhaps expect a neater, and also a more dispersed dispos of ends. Again, it would seem curious to try and imita weaving, darning laboriously over one and under one, wh a more effective embroidered stitch like that on No. 19a and was known and used. Faults do not help the argumen there are some in the blue weft lines, but they are the san kind of faults found also in the body of the weave—passag over incorrect numbers of warps, etc.—exactly the class fault to be found in weaves from looms with primitive heddl

Whether woven with dexterity or embroidered wi labour, this pattern of rectangles was certainly popular, f fragmentary examples of it occur on Nos. 19, 22 and 28, well as No. 1. I find it difficult to believe myself that peop could take so much trouble over a rather uninterestin design, unless it had some traditional meaning for them, b so far no parallel for it has been found. The question of th blue decoration will be discussed further on a later pag

No. 19b. (Plate III, 1.) Part of the border from a clot decorated in blue. Length 10 cm. where best preserve breadth 15 cm. The edge above is turned over and ove sewn with two threads ; at the back the cut warp ends han down rather untidily. The thread is fairly even but rath woolly in appearance. The count is 14 x 13 per cm., fairl close and even.

At 4 cm. below the edge there are two throws of blu weft, then four natural, followed by two more blue wefts ; line of blue is darned ornamentally along the middle of th natural band, over five and under five warps, with a occasional four where the threads happen to be thicke There is no doubt that this line is embroidered ; the selvedg preserved, and the blue wefts turn naturally over it and turn ; the darned line also passes neatly over it, but is wn into the cloth at the back with one small stitch.

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[1] V. & A. T. 21, 1940, *Ancient Egypt*, v. 18, and B. M. Catalogue N 26944. 90. 7–17. Coptic or probably Roman.

Under No. 19 are catalogued several fragments considered belong to the same cloth ; of these 19b and another milar piece 19a are part of the border. Other pieces show mains of a rectangle with lines of two blue threads with vo natural threads between them ; one corner is preserved, ut in very bad condition.

No. 25. (Plate III, 3.) Piece decorated with blue lines. ength about 6 cm., breadth 3 cm. The count is 16 x 12 er cm. There is selvedge present. Above there is a trace f a blue weft ; at 1·5 cm. down there are two blue wefts, hree natural wefts, and two blue wefts ; then seventeen atural wefts followed by two blue.

This form of decoration of blue lines in the weft has been oted on other pieces, an especially good example being No. 27, with four fine pale blue lines, one of three and the others of two wefts each.

No. 28. (Plate III, 2.) Corner of a rectangle from a loth decorated in blue lines. About 4 x 2·5 cm. At ntervals the warp has very large threads, which look ecorative but are not arranged with any regularity. The count is about 14 x 16 per cm.

The corner shows lines of two blue wefts with six natural wefts between them, and two blue warps with four natural warps between them. In construction the corner is like those on No. 1 ; two natural warps meet the blue warps, and there are no equivalent natural wefts to meet the blue wefts.

The cloth from which this corner undoubtedly comes—it was still attached by one thread when straightened out—measures 16 x 13 cm. ; it is torn on all sides, but at one end there are about 3 cm. of the much destroyed remnants of a corded border close to the weave. At 7 cm. below the band with the corner comes a blue line of two wefts, probably part of another rectangle. Another loose corner, catalogued as No. 18, almost certainly belongs to this cloth.

Plate IV. Cloths with fringes and open spaces.

No. 2. (Plate IV, 1.) This shows an enlarged det The whole cloth is 63 cm. long including the fringe, a 52·2 cm. broad, with remains of edges on three sides, c rolled and oversewn ; on the fourth is a fringe with an op space, 3 cm., woven strip, 2 cm., and fringe ends about 12 c long. The weft is softer and more variable than the war the count is about 12 x 12 per cm.

The edge of the weave along the empty space, as can clearly seen on the enlargement, is oversewn—a feature present on any other of the cloths with fringes. So fa have found a similar oversewn edge only on one ancie textile, V. and A.T. 1312–1888, a very fine piece in lin wool and gold tapestry from Akhmim ; probably fr Asia Minor (?), fourth century.

No. 3. (Plate IV, 3.) Part of a cloth with fringe of wa threads at one end, with an open space and woven stri the other end is torn away. Length without fringe, 27 c width, 36 cm., breadth about 30 cm. On one side the ed is rolled and oversewn, on the other remains of the oversev edge are present only near the fringe. Warp and weft a very irregularly spun, and the weave open and variabl counts in three places give 15 x 11, 14 x 11, and 11 x 11 p cm.

No. 17. (Plate IV, 2.) Piece from a cloth with frin and open space. Length 23 cm. to 10 cm., breadth 15 c at widest. The selvedge is present on one side, but t cloth is torn on the other side and above ; below is a frin with open unwoven space, 5 cm., woven strip, 2·5 cm., a fringe ends, 8·5 cm. The count is 16 to 20 x 12 per cn compressed near the selvedge.

This piece is important because the presence of t selvedge proves that the fringe is one of warp ends, and it c therefore be taken for granted in the case of other clot with these fringes. Besides Nos. 2, 3 and 17, illustrated her there is another, No. 31, and in this case, though the clo is imperfect, the complete dimensions are known—leng with fringe, 45 cm., breadth 26 cm. ; there are also son fragments with this type of fringe from two other cloths not yet studied. In all, then, there were at least six cloths having this particular kind of fringe.

It is interesting that this practice of leaving an open space at both ends of a cloth persists to the present day. In Syria, on the primitive treadle loom now employed, such spaces are used in the making of fringes on headcloths for men (*kefiyas*) and women (*hattas*) ; the warp threads are kept in order by the woven strip, so that the women can easily twist and knot them into whatever style of fringe they like ; for *kefiyas*—and sometimes for *hattas* also—the weft is caught on both sides with a wire during the weaving, so as to make loose threads which can be made into a fringe along the sides of the cloth as well.

The practice has other technical uses, which are well summed up in a letter from Mr. W. A. Stewart, who has had long experience of weaving in the Near East. " All weavers, so far as I know," he writes, " have had the habit of weaving a few threads to get the warp straight, then leaving a space, sometimes in primitive looms inserting two thin rods, and then starting on the weaving with a tight, straight and well-arranged warp." After mentioning the Syrian cloths, he adds : " I doubt if the space on your linen can be taken as any indication of date as this seems to be a very old tradition, if not an actual part of the technique of starting a good bit of weaving."

One further technical usage is only applicable to a treadle loom with a reed. When I was in Jerusalem I noticed that the old weavers of the Alliance Israelite had this type of fringe on their curtains and other goods, and they explained that they always wove it at the end of a warp whether needed for a fringe or not, because then they could leave a strip in the loom to use for twisting in, and so avoid the labour of re-threading a new warp. Mr. Stewart also mentions this, and says that it " is sound practice and is done in modern factories."

In India, however, where a fringe with open space and woven strip is still commonly found at both ends of lengths of cotton and silk, such as *saris*, the practice seems to be regarded as purely of decorative value ; sometimes several small unwoven spaces are seen, making a kind of openwork, but often there is only one space before the fringe, as simple as any of ours ; and such fringes are regarded as both attractive and durable. The same applies to similar openwork effects on Sudanese cloths. And such comparative material as is available from earlier periods seems to confirm that this was the original idea behind the practice.

At first sight, indeed, the unwoven spaces of our cloths recall the open spaces in Coptic weaves, filled with tapestry or with needle weaving in purple or coloured wools ; study of the subject has shown, however, that there are some cloths of this period in which spaces near fringes have obviously never been filled. These occur among the earliest Coptic weaves—a fine linen from the tomb of Euphemia an the embroidress, Antinoe, now in the Museum at Brussels (Errera, No. 44), possibly of the second-third century A.D., and cloths in the Victoria and Albert Museum, T.844–1886, Catalogue No. 221, from Akhmim, fourth century, and the great linen cloth with purple loop weaving, T.438–1889, Catalogue No. 6, of the third-fourth century, also from Akhmim, which has the fringe at both ends.

The spaces of our cloths certainly fall into the same category—they are large, and always found near the fringe; and no trace of wool or other filling was found in them. I think there is no doubt that, as in the Hindu tradition, this simple type of fringe was regarded as decorative.

Plate V. Fibre and weave photographs.

Plate VI. Cloths with fringes and corded borders.

No. 4. (Plate VI, 3.) Part of a cloth with simple fringe. Length without fringe 39 cm., fringe c.6 cm., breadth 30 cm. Warp and weft are both rather loosely spun. The weave is open, giving a count of about 13 x 11 per cm. One edge is rolled and oversewn.

After this piece was photographed, it was discovered that another fragment belonged to this cloth, which includes a piece of selvedge ; the total breadth after combining these is 47·5 cm.

In spite of the degradation of the fibre in this cloth, a very beautiful micro-photograph of the S twist was obtained, and this, with an enlargement of the weave, is shown on Plate V, 1 and 2.

To amend the looseness of the weave and level it, the weaver had run a weft in from the selvedge for a short distance and back again, in at least one place on each of the pieces of this cloth. Insertions of this kind were also found on No. 29 (numerous), No. 24 (four) and on Nos. 26, 31 and 33 (one each) as well as on other fragments still uncatalogued. The same device is also recorded on another cloth from the cave studied in America by Miss Louisa Bellinger[1] where “some of the yarns turn back in the middle of the row.” As she points out this is a useful peculiarity, in giving evidence as to which threads represent warp and which weft, for warps cannot make such turns.

No. 5. (Plate VI, 1.) Cloth with corded border of warp loops. Length 47·5 cm., breadth 47 cm. The weave is fairly close; the count is about 12 x 12 per cm., except near the selvedge where the warps are more crowded, giving about 20 x 12 per cm. This piece was cleaned with very great difficulty as its condition was very rotten. The selvedge is present on one side for 4 cm. from the corner, and lower down also small fragments with loops can be seen ; in all, portions of it exist over 24 cm. down the side. The edge on the other side and above is cut, rolled and oversewn with a coarse single thread ; below is preserved part of a corded border 20 cm. long with two small breaks.

On dissecting a small portion of this border, the cord was found to consist of two groups of three threads each, twined through the warp loops, which were still intact (see drawing, fig. 4(1), of the similar border on No. 30). There is no doubt from the presence of the selvedge and the warp loops that this must be either a starting or a closing border, and

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[1] BASOR, April, 1950.

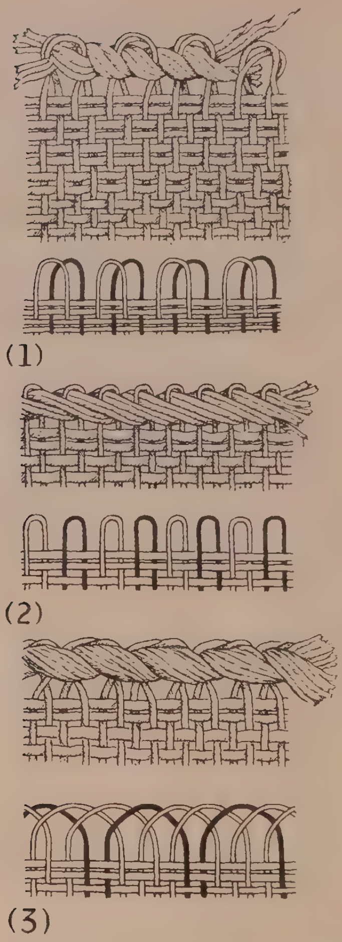

Fig. 4. Corded starting borders.
(1) No. 30, Ain Feshkha.
(2) Halebiyeh, Syria.
(3) Coptic, Bankfield Museum.

the close weave right up to the cord would indicate the former. There are, indeed, primitive weaves in wool in which both ends of the cloth are closed. To achieve this, netimes, a piece is woven first at both ends and finished the middle, but whether finished in the middle or at the l there comes a moment when even a rod heddle refuses give its modest shed, and the remaining inches of warp ve to be filled by darning. This procedure, however, ms hardly credible in the case of a fairly fine linen weave, d we are led to the extremely interesting conclusion that No. 5 we have a true starting border. But before discuss- ; this the similar borders on Nos. 30, 13 and other fragments ist be described.

No. 13. (Plate VI, 2, fig. 5.) Part of a cloth with rded edge on a fringe. Length with fringe 36·5 cm. inge 6·5 cm.), breadth at widest 31·5 cm. Above and one side the cloth is torn and fragmentary ; the fringe sts only over 9 cm., though there is a loose fragment out 4 cm. long which almost certainly comes from this

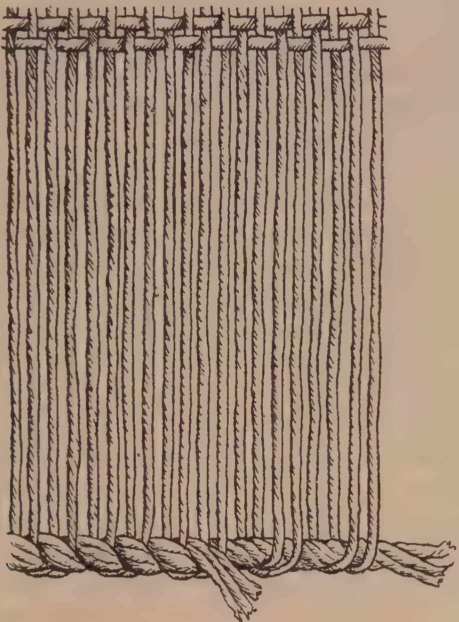

Fig. 5. Corded fringe, No. 13.

fringe ; the edge on the other side is cut, rolled and oversew with a single thread. The count is variable—13 x 12 x 11, 11 x 12 per cm.

The corded border on the fringe is made by two grou of three threads each, twined through the warp loops, whi are intact. The method by which this is carried out sugge a closing rather than a starting border, as one group threads passes straight through all the warp loops, the oth being twined round it (see drawing, fig. 5). A border w a fringe and cording resembling this is to be seen on a lin and wool tapestry of the Coptic period, fourth-fifth centu A.D., V. & A. 2072–1900, Catalogue No. 95.

Plate VII. Cloth with corded border.

No. 30. (Plate VII, 1, 2, 3 : fig. 4(1).) Cloth w corded border. Length 35·5 cm., breadth 24 cm. Wh found this cloth was folded over into a pad 11 x 9 cm. size (Plate VII, 2). Counts were 14 x 14, 13 x 13, and one place 16 x 14 per cm. On three sides the edge is c rolled and oversewn with a single thread. Below is open unwoven space followed by a woven strip with a cord border, defective in one corner.

The border is made like that of No. 5, by two groups three threads each twined through loops taken here to also those of the warp ; the weave above comes close to t cord and the first four wefts are of two threads each. Tl loops can be seen well on the enlargement, Plate VII, and the drawing on fig. 4(1) gives the actual passage of t cord and the weave about it, in which it can be seen th the warps are crossed. This is also the case in the border No. 5 and in a small fragment of another similar bord No. 20. Of the other two instances recorded, that on another fragment, No. 21, seems similar, except that t cord is of two groups of four threads each, but the remnai of that on No. 28, a cloth with blue lines (see above, p. are too small and frail to stand examination. On No. the cording on the fringe, as already said, is similarly of tv groups of three threads, but here the warp loops, as far n be seen, are sometimes simple and sometimes crossed e outside the other (fig. 5). Another fragment of a small namental border, No. 16, appears to be of a different nd and requires further study.

On fig. 4 are shown other examples of corded borders, . 4(2) from a linen cloth found at Halebiyeh (Syria) of the h-sixth century, A.D.,[1] in which the cord is of four groups two threads each, and the loops are simple, not crossed, d fig. 4(3) from a linen cloth with tapestry of the Coptic riod in the Bankfield Museum,[2] in which the cording is of o groups of six threads each, and there is an elaborate ossing of the warp threads, sometimes rather irregular. here are also somewhat similar twined borders on woollen oths of the Coptic period, one of which has a chevron ine over simple loops.[3]

My impression on the first sight of these corded borders as that of something exceedingly primitive, comparable to e starting borders found on textiles of the Swiss Lake illages[4] and the Danish Bronze and Stone Ages,[5] which are nerally believed to indicate the use of the warp-weighted om. The general resemblance is remarkable, more es-ecially to the Danish examples ; the cording may be taken the equivalent of their twinings and tablet weaves, and the oubling of the wefts near the cord is characteristic. The oject of the cording is the same as that of the careful Northern arrangements—the spacing and ordering of the warp as to overcome the tendency of the reedless loom to favo a drawing in and crowding of the warps. The crossing the warps noted above, also found in the Danish weaves designed to keep the warp steady ; for this probably t balls of yarn were used in the setting up. In our wea the ideal aimed at is quite evidently the equality of a tr "linen weave."

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[1] R. Pfister, *Textiles de Halabiyeh.* (Zenobra), 1951. No. 49 (83).

[2] Laura Start, *Coptic Cloths* (Bankfield Museum Notes), June, 1914, 28 and fig. 26.

[3] Grace M. Crowfoot and Joyce Griffiths, *Coptic Textiles in Two-faced eave, Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, Vol. XXV, Part 7, 1939, p. 42 and . 2.

[4] E. Vogt, *Gewebe und Geflechte der Steinzeit*, pp. 51, 53 ; figs. 82, 86. ons. R. Pfister was struck by the same idea after seeing a photograph No. 30 ; he wrote " Sur une des trois photos la situation me semble solument nette, ce sont bien les chaînes, et je pense que cela a été puis les temps primitifs le procédé le plus simple pour attacher la aîne a l'arbre (ensouple) ainsi que Vogt l'a décrit."

[5] Margrethe Hald, *Olddanske Tekstiler*, pp. 429–30. Costumes of e Bronze Age in Denmark, pp. 127–134.

Can we say then that we have evidence enough here prove the use of the warp-weighted loom ? It is tempti to uphold it, but one must truthfully admit that cord borders can form part of primitive weaving on the verti loom with two beams[1]—the cording here is made directly the warp, while the starting borders for the warp-weight loom are made separately on a special band-loom—but t object in both cases is the same, effective spacing. Th question which of these looms is the more probable will raised again in the general discussion, but this much can said at once ; the corded border would be of no value on treadle loom with an efficient reed ; it certainly indica the use of a primitive type of loom.

Plate VIII. Plain Cloths and Sewing.

No. 15. (Plate VIII, 2.) Cloth, damaged. Size, 2 25 cm. The weave is loose, and the count 17 x 13 per c There is no way of discovering which is warp and whi weft on this cloth. All edges are cut, rolled and oversew on two opposite sides with single thread, and on the oth two with double thread. Three corners are preserved, which two are twisted and the third has a piece of stri round it.

A good many other fragments of rather coarse thou close weaves showed a twisting of corners and had stri attached. Mr. Harding thinks that these cloths had be used to tie over the tops of the jars. He writes : "T squares themselves Hassan identified immediately he sa

C. A. Amsden, *Navaho Weaving.* Plate 17, pp. 37–40.

n as exactly similar to those used at present to seal up age jars of food and semneh. The method is to tie the ure over the mouth of the full jar, either round the neck ometimes to the handles, cover that with a bowl, and up the whole with clay . . . This seems an almost exact allel to our case except that we have so far no evidence of use of clay or other sealing matter."[1]

No. 22a. (Plate VIII, 3, 4.) An edge piece, rolled and rsewn with a double thread in blue. Size 8 cm. x 2 cm. count is 14 x 15 per cm. This piece of edge and another ilar, 22b, are considered to belong to another larger e, 22c, with a blue line probably forming a rectangle, with the corner missing.

No. 23. (Plate VIII, 1.) Cloth, damaged, measuring x 12 cm. at its broadest ; only part is shown here. The nt is 13 x 11 per cm. The edge is rolled and oversewn h double thread, with a well-turned corner.

No. 24. (Plate VIII, 5.) Cloth, damaged, measuring x 24 cm. at its broadest ; only part is shown here. The nt is 17 x 17 per cm. The edge is rolled and hemmed.

The last three examples have been selected to show the thods used in finishing the cloths ; of these No. 24, with edge rolled and hemmed, is unique. Nos. 1 and 19, as eady remarked, have the edge turned over and stitched, h warp ends hanging down untidily. All others examined e edges rolled and oversewn, sometimes with double ead, natural or blue, as in Nos. 22 and 23, sometimes in gle thread as in No. 30 and many others. This method rolling and oversewing is often referred to as whipping, l is in use on our handkerchiefs today. The corners in st cases are worked exactly as advised by modern needle-women. Mrs. Moore, who kindly examined them for says : " When nearing the end of one side the beginnin the next is rolled and the first side rolled over the secon the corner . . . the sewing thread seems to be continuo This, however, would not apply to No. 15, where diffe threads are used on the sides that meet at the corner.

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[1] Cf. the method described in the Mishnah, Kel. 10, 4. "If a ball oil of reed-grass was put over the mouth of the jar and only the sides were plastered down, it does not afford protection—but it must be tered above and below. So too, with a patch of woven stuff. If aper or leather, and it was bound round with a cord, it affords ection only if it is plastered at the sides." There is no mention of ls or lids.

The sewing varies in quality ; contrast, for example, carelessness of No. 15 with the finely rolled No. 23, on the most beautifully worked pieces found. Evidence repairs was rare, but No. 33 is a botching of pieces joi together by what looks like a run and fell seam but is re a double hem back and front, and the fragment No. 36 a patch to a round hole applied exactly as we should ma patch in linen today ; but both are very ill sewn, not a like the careful work of the best of the original sewing.

From my study of the whole collection of material well as the pieces published here, it is now possible to d the following general conclusions.

The linen is of fair quality, but not very fine, the hig counts recorded being 18 x 18 and 20 x 16 per cm. weavers seem to have been aiming at an even " linen wea and occasionally achieved it, as in Nos. 2 and 5, which ha frequent 12 x 12 per cm. ; on other cloths sometimes th are more wefts than warps, as in No. 28, and someti warps predominate, as in Nos. 1 and 17.

As in Ancient Egypt, the yarn is all S spun, the right to spin flax having regard to the natural twist of the fi On the whole the spinning is fairly good, but it varies, sometimes the yarn is loose and has a woolly appearan the warp is usually rather harder and more even than weft. So also with the weaving, it varies ; sometimes careful and even, especially in the pieces with blue li though even in these there are faults—wefts skipping sev warps, etc.—and sometimes the weave is loose and disto in the centre and crowded near the selvedge. There are fact, three grades of weaving : the best are the pieces w

ration in blue, the second those with fringes, the third
coarsest the small cloths thought to be jar covers.

Full measurements of the cloths have been obtained in
eight cases ; they vary between the largest, No. 1,
60 cm., and the smallest, No. 32, 27·2 x 23·2 cm.
y in one case is the whole width of the textile present
n selvedge to selvedge—No. 1, 60 cm. ; there is, however,
ery ragged large cloth (uncatalogued) measuring roughly
60 cm., which has only one selvedge preserved, but the
ve at the torn edge suggests that perhaps only the selvedge
missing. However, the presence of a number of cloths
h one or two cut edges measuring more than 40 cms. in
adth suggests the possibility of a larger width.[1]

After considering these details, several of which are
Egyptian—e.g., even weaves, low counts, and woolly
pearance—it seems reasonable to conclude that the linen
local product, and in this I am in complete agreement
h Miss Louisa Bellinger.[2]

On the historical side the support for a local origin is
ong. For our purpose it is natural to turn to the Mish-
a, that " deposit of four centuries of Jewish religious and
tural activity in Palestine, beginning at some uncertain
te (possibly during the earlier half of the second century
.) and ending with the close of the second century A.D."[3]
re we find many references to linen. The culture and
paration of flax is often alluded to—the seed,[4] the sowing,[5]
pulling or gathering,[6] the gleaning of the " forgotten
af,"[7] the steeping or retting,[8] the hackling,[9] the combing[10]
d the flax comb.[11] The material is not always specified
the references to spinning, and the gossipers " who spin

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[1] On most primitive looms widths are usually less than 60 cm., but
ch greater widths are suggested by the Greek vase paintings of the
rp-weighted loom.

[2] BASOR, April, 1950.

[3] *The Mishnah*, tr. by Herbert Danby, D.D., p. xiii. [4] Bab. M. 3. 7.
il. 2. 2. 7. Ter. 6. 1. Bab. M. 9. 9. [6] Bab. B. 5. 7. [7] Peah. 6. 5.
oed Kat. 2. 3. Bab. M. 6. 1. [9] Shab. 4. 1. [10] Sotah, 9. 5.
horoth, 4. 8. [11] Kel. 13. 8.

their yarn by moonlight "[1] and the sinner " who spin
the street "[2] may have been using wool or flax, but ther
a special mention of " one that spins flax "[3] and
" spindle as used for flax."[4] So also with the passages
the loom and weaving, sometimes wool is specified,
otherwise they may apply to either. Linen garments
mentioned,[5] and linen cushions,[6] and a purchasing
" garments of wool in Judæa and garments of linen
Galilee."[7] In one passage only is foreign linen mentio
that describing the raiment of the High Priest : " In
morning he was clothed in Pelusium linen worth tw
minas, and in the afternoon in Indian linen worth e
hundred *Zuz*,"[8] in which it is interesting to note
the fine linen of Egypt commanded the higher price of
two.

When, however, I consulted the Mishnah for referen
to scroll-wrappers, it was disappointing to find that they
spoken of without any indication of their material, excep
the following passage : " Handkerchiefs, wrappers for scr
(of the Law) and bath towels do not come under the law
Diverse Kinds. But R. Eliezer forbids them (if they h
in them wool and linen),"[9] from which it may be infer
that they were usually of linen alone. This is the earl

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[1] Sotah. 6. 1. [2] Ket. 7. 6. [3] Neg. 2. 4. [4] Par. 12. 8. [5] Kil.
[6] Kel. 29. 2. [7] Bab. K. 10. 9. [8] Yom. 3. 7.

[9] Kil. 1. 3. Dr. Driver has kindly contributed the following n
" Two words are used normally for wrappers protecting scrolls : t
are the pure Hebrew מִטְפַּחַה (*miṭpaḥaṯ*), and the Latin מַפָּה (mapp
The former alone has this sense in the Mishnah, while the latt
generally preferred in the Talmuds. The root of *miṭpaḥaṯ* is טפח, wh
we get the Heb. *ṭippeaḥ*, " spread out " (Isa. 48, 13, of God spreading
the heavens), and the Aramaic-Syriac *ṭepah*, " spread out ; smack
clapped (her hands) " i.e. used the open hand ; hence, too, we get
Hebrew *ṭepaḥ* or *ṭōpaḥ*, " handbreadth, span." The basis idea of the
therefore is that of outspread or open expanse. In the Bible *miṭp*
means a woman's mantle or head-veil similar to that worn by mod
Arab peasant women (Ruth, 3. 15, Isa. 3. 22). In post-Biblical litera
it means " handtowel, bathtowel, napkin, headcloth or kerchi
(Mish. Moed Kat. 3. 2. Kil. 9, 3, Kel. 24. 14, 28. 5) as well as " wrapp
for scrolls (ibid. Kel. 28. 4. ; also Shabb. 9. 6, Neg. II. II).

own reference to the wrapping of books in cloths ; in ssical times leather is mentioned, no doubt a more otective covering for papyrus rolls, but the Jewish sacred oks, written on skins, were strong enough to need only a ht wrapper ; indeed, in later times the covering was en of silk. The custom has persisted to the present day for e Torah, but in the course of years the shape has changed, d the wrapper become a long narrow strip, often mbroidered with inscriptions and pictures ; examples can seen in the Jewish Museum, London, including an pecially fine one from the old Synagogue at Worms, dated 62. A charming custom existed in Poland and elsewhere embroidering a new wrapper as a gift to the Synagogue the birth of a son.

Because of the continuance of this tradition, the mention some kind of decoration on wrappers in the Mishnah has ven rise to considerable discussion. The passage runs : Scroll-wrappers, whether figures are portrayed on them or ot, are susceptible to uncleanness. So the School of ammai. And the School of Hillel say : ‘ If figures are rtrayed on them they are not susceptible to uncleanness ; figures are not portrayed on them they are susceptible.’ abban Gamaliel says : ‘ In either case they are not susceptible to uncleanness ’.”[1] The Schools of Hillel and Shammai ourished about 50 A.D., and no doubt reflected the dicta their great leaders, who lived c. 30 B.C. to A.D. 10 ; Rabban amaliel, the grandson (? or son) of Hillel, gave the later iew of his day. It looks, therefore, as if the custom of ecorating the wrappers must date from the pre-Destruction eriod. The term “ if figures are portrayed ”[2] need not ecessarily mean human figures, but may refer to designs of ny kind, even geometrical ones, and it would cover our mple lines and rectangles in blue. The rectangles may ave had some meaning unknown to us, and the blue some

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[1] Kel. 28. 4.

[2] מְצֻוָּר (*meṣuwwār*). This word is an adjective, sometimes simply anslated “ patterned ” or “ figured.”

mystic value ; blue, the colour of heaven, is still protect
in Palestine against the " Eye," and blue beads are worn
the children of Jew and Arab alike. But one must
careful here not to press any comparisons with the ritual
of *tekelet* (tr. blue) and *argaman* (tr. purple) in the
Testament, for traditionally both these dyes were from
murex or other shellfish, and were dyed on wool. *Tek*
is even said sometimes not to have been a blue at all bu
blue-violet, but it must have been very near to blue for
Septuagint calls it " hyacinthine," and the Talmud gi
recipes for distinguishing between it and imitations dyed w
indigo. Perhaps the pure and lovely colour of the vegetal
indigo was not to be despised when the Tyrian 6, 6'-dibro
indigo of the murex was unobtainable.

These are small details, but they are all of some inter
because here we certainly have real scroll-wrappers, whi
had been used as such in a Synagogue of the day before th
were concealed, either in time of panic, or because they we
some of those " worn-out sacred books and worn-out cove
that have been stored away in order to hide them,"[1] that
placed in a *Genizah*, a chamber or cupboard used special
for that purpose, for though unusable, both books and cove
retained their sanctity. When the Synagogue *Genizah* w
too full, the contents were either buried in the cemetery,
carried out to some other hiding place and there conceale
as Dr. Sukenik considers was the case with our scrolls ar
wrappers.

It is to the Mishnah again that one has to turn to ga
some idea of the loom—or looms—of the period.
already said, the study of the linen suggests the use of
somewhat primitive type of loom, and the Mishnah giv
no evidence for any one more advanced than the vertic
loom. The most detailed passages speak of a standing war
stretched between an upper and a lower beam.[2] There i
however, one passage which seems to refer to an uprig

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[1] Shab. 9. 6.

[2] Kel. 21. 1. Neg. 11. 9.

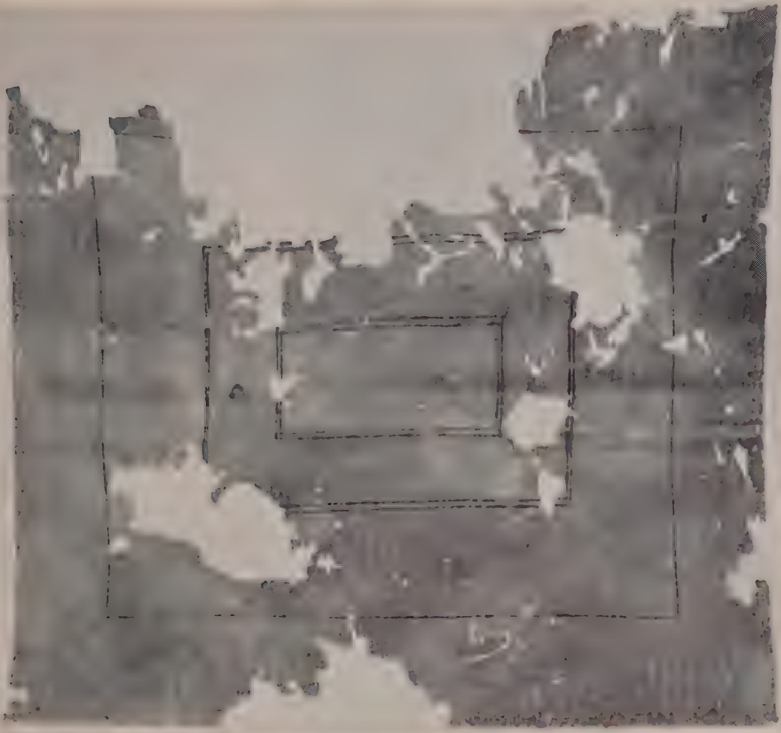

Fig 1. No. 1, front, much reduced: actual size 57 × 60 cm.

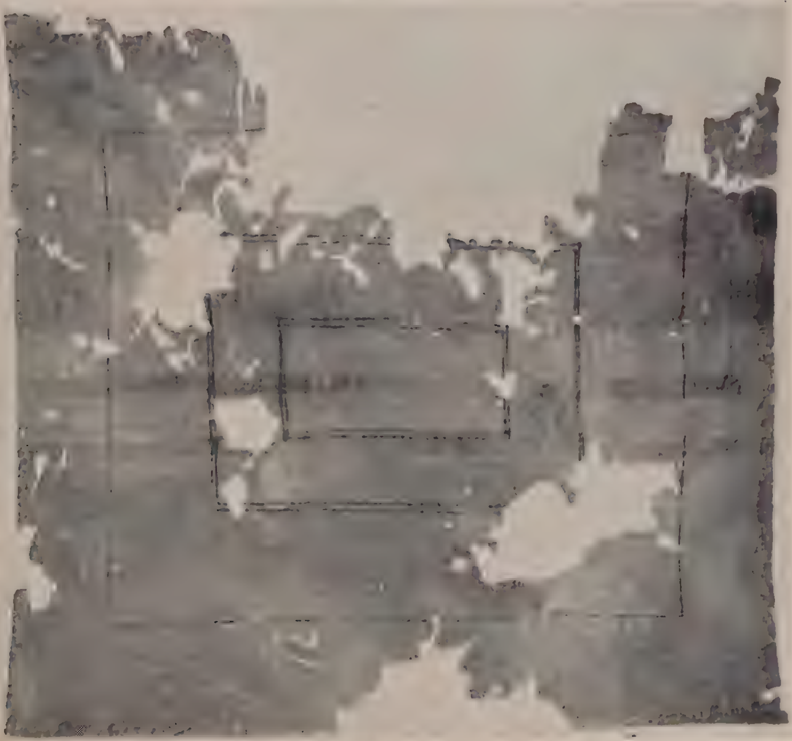

Fig 2. No. 1, back.

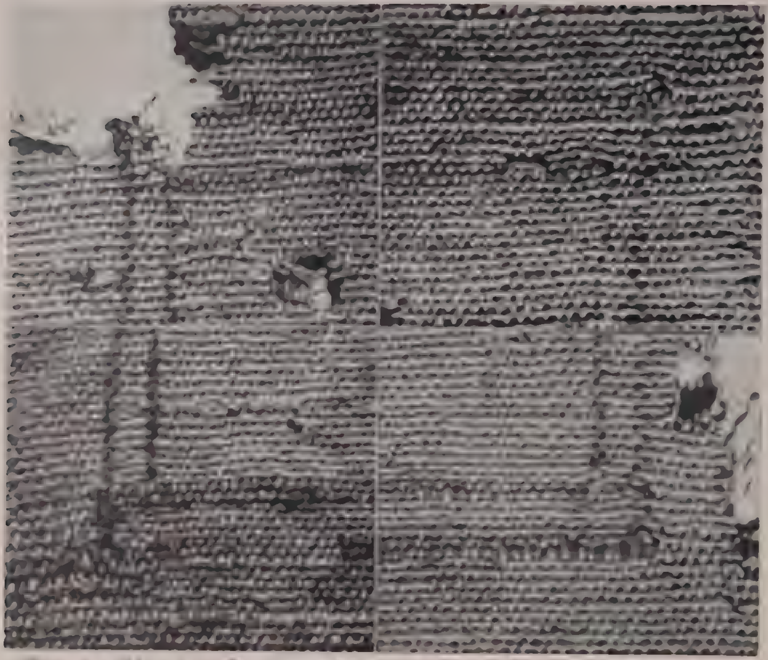

Fig. 1. No. 1. Corners of inner rectangle, × 1·5, front.

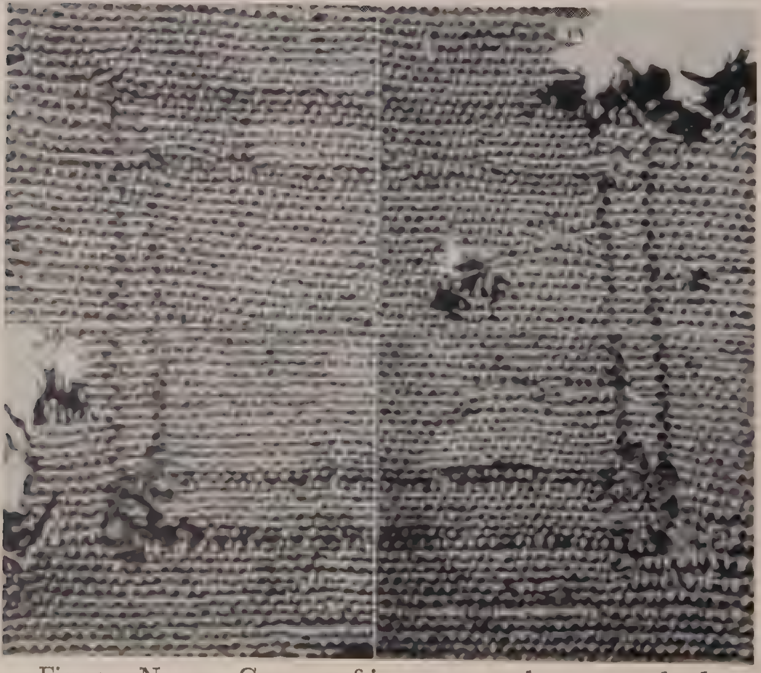

Fig. 2. No. 1. Corners of inner rectangle, × 1·5, back.

(*Photos: G. O. Searle, H. M. Norfolk Flax Establishment*)

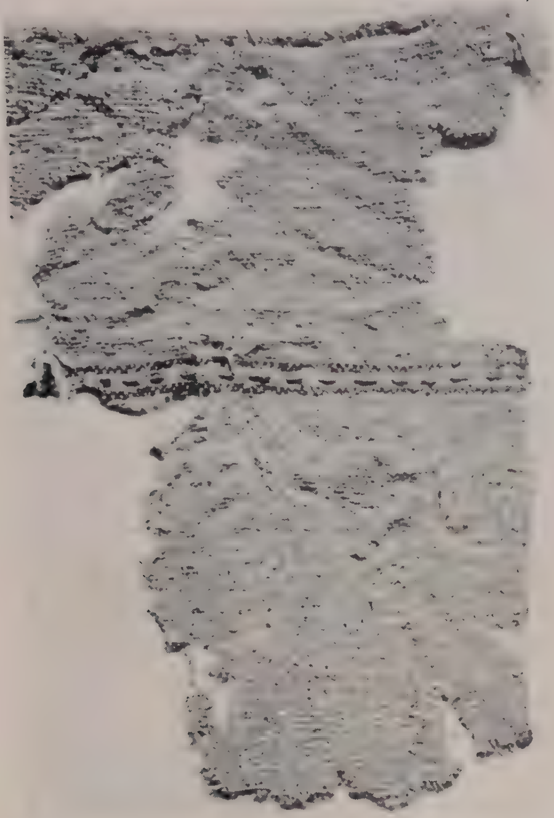

Fig. 1. Part of No. 19b, natural size.

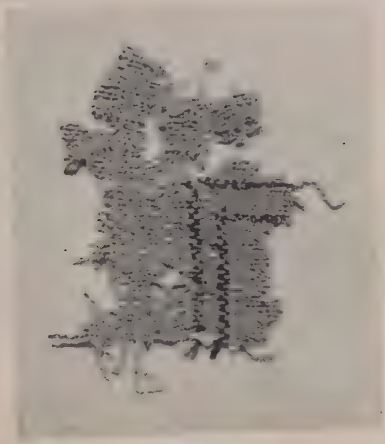

Fig. 2. Corner from No. 28, natural size.

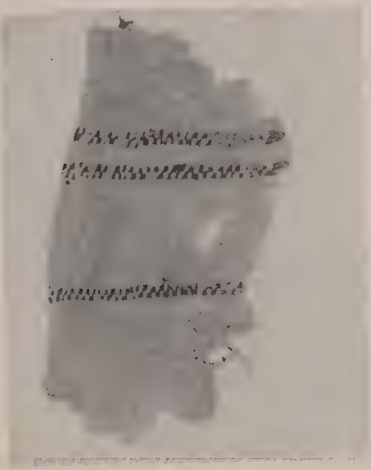

Fig. 3. No. 25, natural size.

Photos: Hallam Ashley, F.R.P.S.)

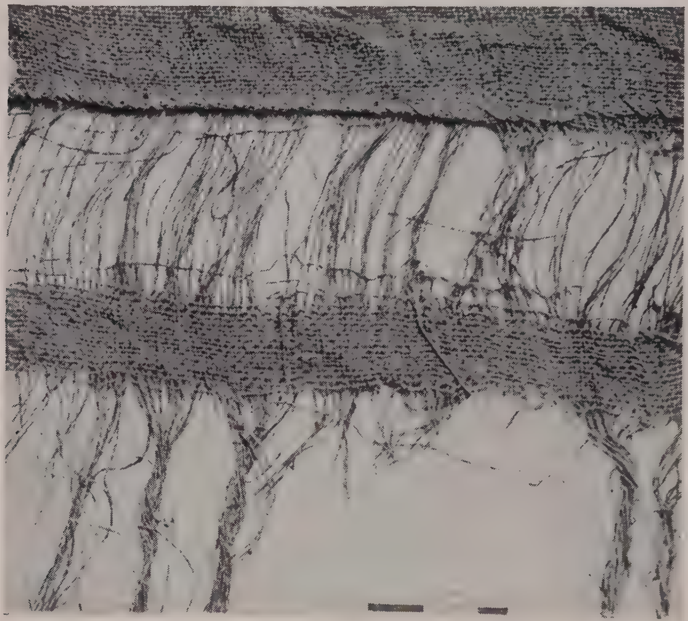

Fig. 1. Detail from No. 2, showing fringe and oversewing.

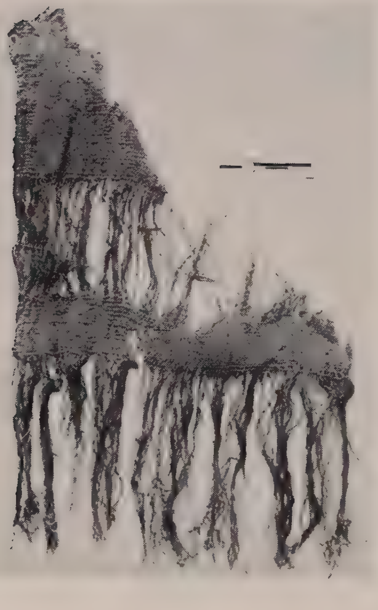

Fig. 2. No. 17.

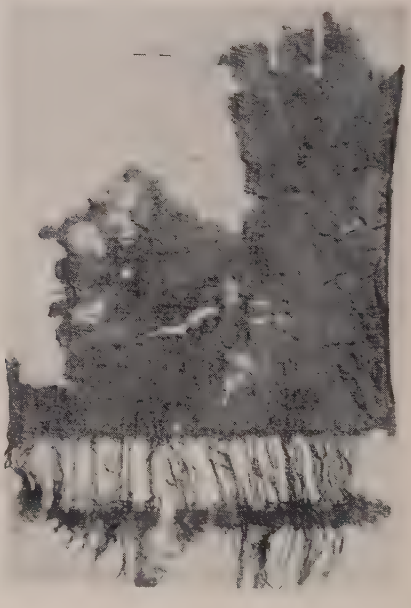

Fig. 3. No. 3.

(*Photos: Leyneck*)

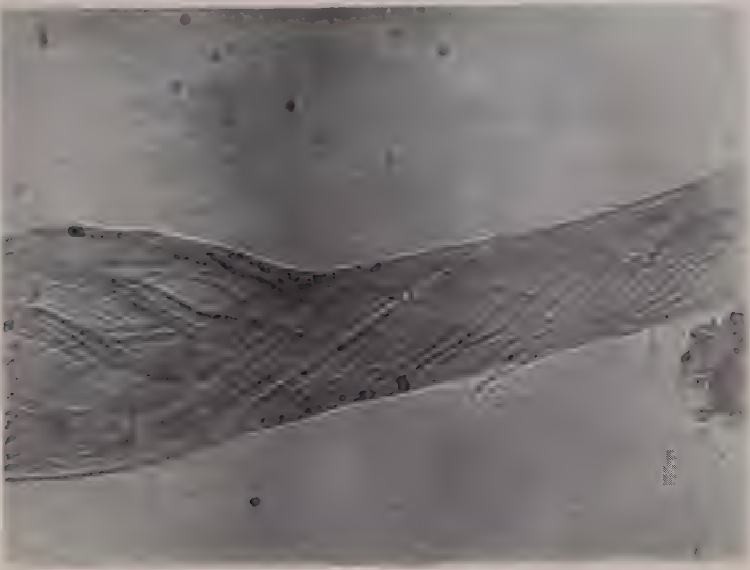

Fig. 1. Flax fibre, from No. 4, showing S-twist. × 450

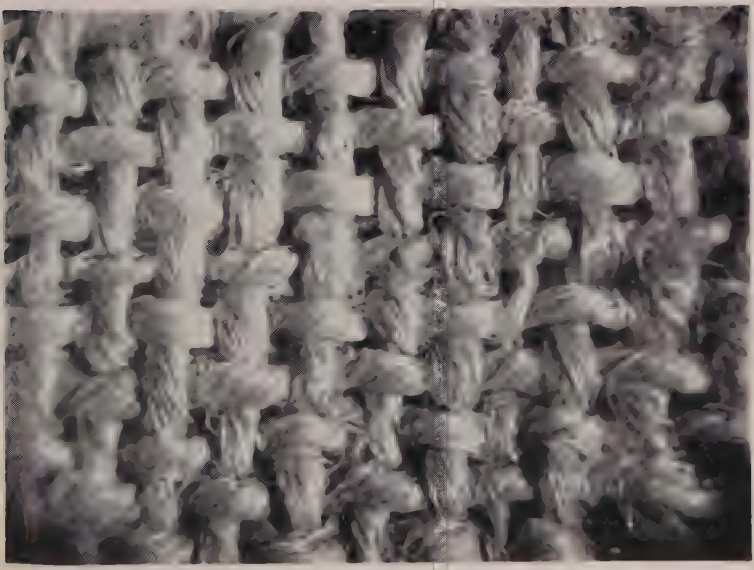

Fig. 2. Weave of No. 4. × 10 Warp

(Photos: G. O. Searle, H. M. Norfolk Flax Establishment)

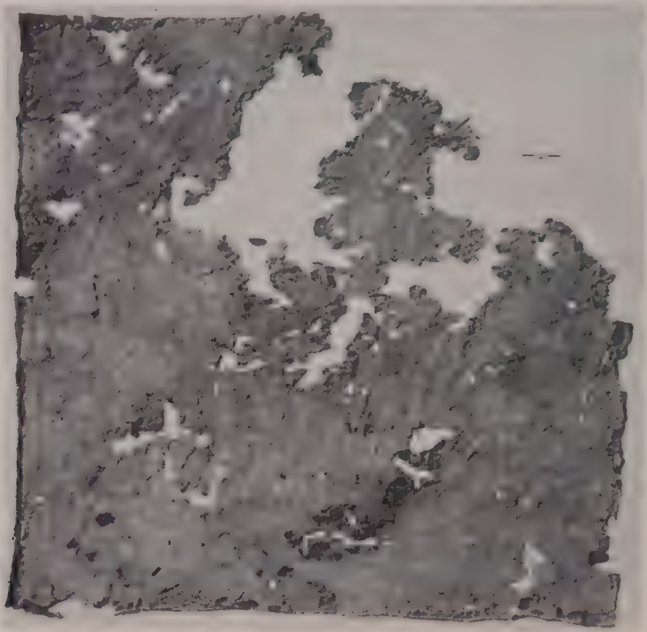

Fig. 1. No. 5.

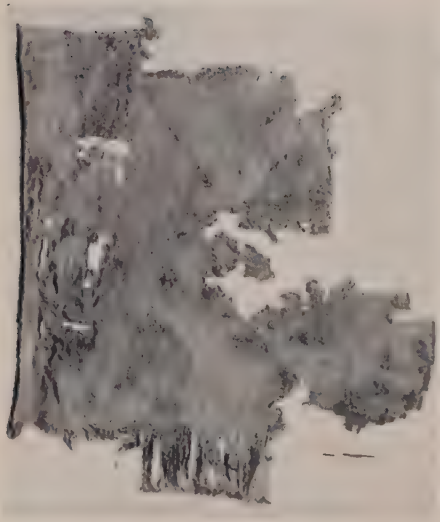

Fig. 2. No. 13.

Fig. 3. Part of No. 4.

(*Photos* *Leyneck*)

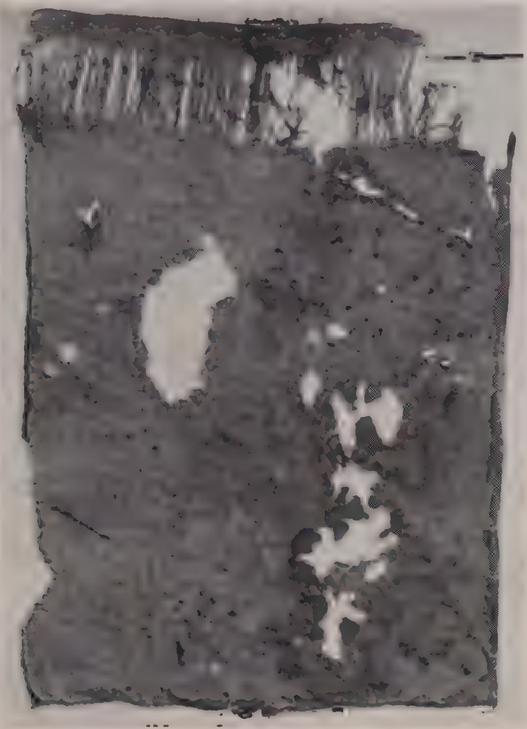

Fig. 1. No. 30, back.

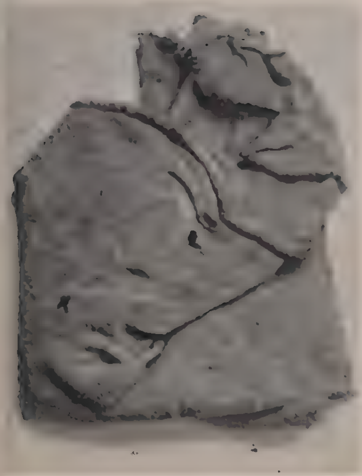

Fig. 2. No. 30, folded into pad as found : half size.

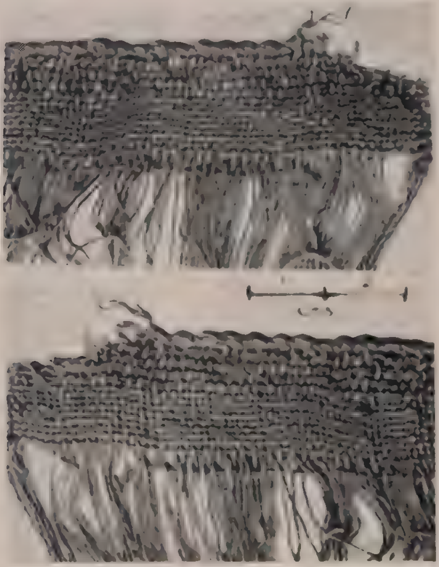

Fig. 3. Detail of corded border from No. 30, showing warp loops, front and back.

(Photos : Leyneck)

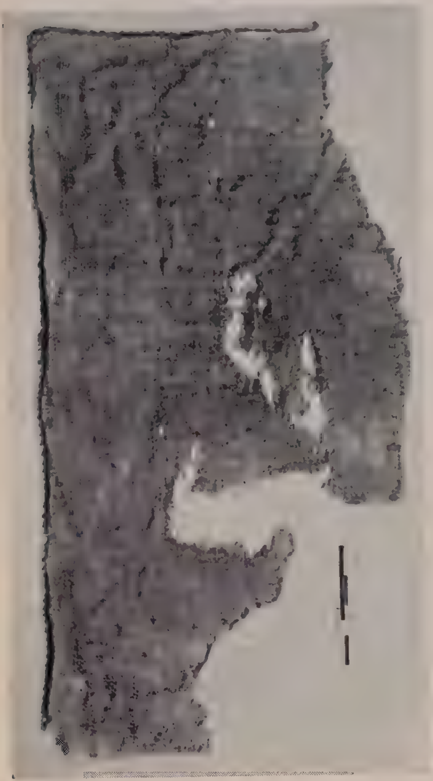

Fig. 1. Part of No. 23.

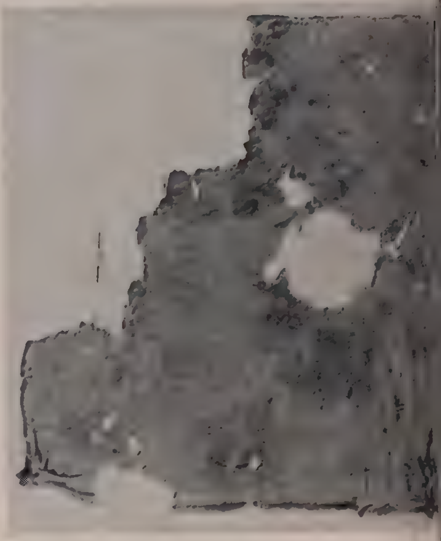

Fig. 2. No. 15.

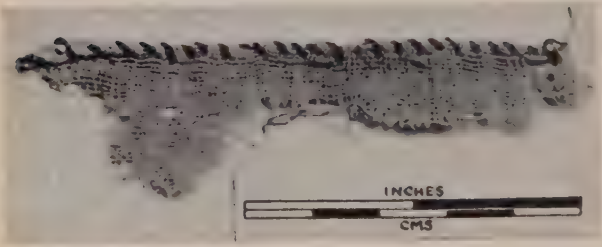

Fig. 3. No. 22a, front.

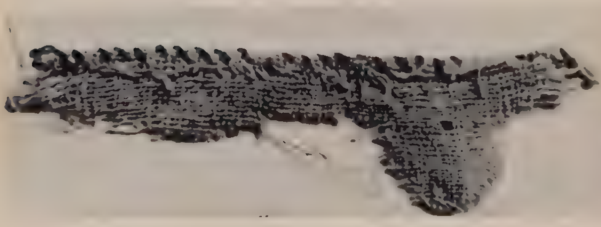

Fig. 4. No. 22a, back.

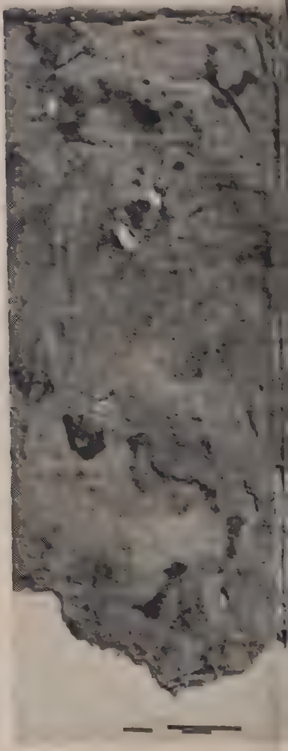

Fig. 5. Part of No. 24

(*Photos : Leyneck*)

m of quite another kind, that with warp weights instead a lower beam. It runs : " After what fashion is the pection of leprosy signs ? . . . the woman (while she stands) e one that rolls out bread and like one that gives suck her child and like one that weaves at an upright loom if sign is within the right armpit." R. Judah says : Also like one that spins flax if the sign is within the left mpit)."[1] Now the only loom at which a woman would bitually stand and raise her right arm would be that in hich the weaving was at the top, i.e., the warp-weighted om ; at the vertical loom with two beams it is customary sit. Another passage mentions both postures : " If they ere weaving together, whether standing or sitting."[2] It is ite possible that both types of loom were in use at the me time. There is, indeed, no mention of loom-weights the Jewish literature, but many have been found in alestine of all periods from the Iron Age to the Hellenistic. e know too that in Rome at least as early as the beginning the Christian era, and probably earlier, the vertical loom ith two beams was in use as well as that with warp-weights, nd that the latter persisted at any rate for linen till the urth century A.D., for Servius says that people of old used to weave standing as today we see the linen weavers *inteones*)."[3] In Palestine it seems to have remained longer ill, for Theophylact, a bishop of Bulgaria (1070 A.D.) ommenting on the seamless robe of Christ, says : " Others ay that in Palestine they weave their fabric not as with us, aving the warp threads above and weaving below with the obbin and thus mounting ; but on the contrary, the warp hreads are below, and the web is woven from above."[4] bout the same date we have the first references to the readle loom, especially that given by Rashi, " the father of Mishnah commentators " (1040–1105), who speaks of the men weaving with their feet while the women have a can which moves up and down.[1]

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[1] Neg. 2. 4.

[2] Zab. 3. 2.

[3] Festus. Pauli Exc. 286–89. Quoted by Lillian Wilson, *The Clothing f the Ancient Romans*, p. 21, *et seq.*

[4] Theophylact. Ad Johan XIX, 23.

From the above discussion it will be realised that unfortunately the study of the linen gives us very little assistanc in dating the find. The primitive type or types of loom which have been mentioned above both remained in use fo long periods—the vertical loom with two beams from th thirteenth Dynasty in Egypt to the present day, and tha with warp weights from 1000 B.C. till its disappearance i comparatively modern times. Plain weave, too, has bee the same through many centuries ; all evidence of date tha can be hoped for must come from the few decorative detai found on the cloths. And here it is very difficult to find an comparative material, especially for the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. Of necessity our comparison have to be made with such textiles as have been discovere from the early centuries A.D.—those from Palmyra (first-thir century A.D.), Dura on the Euphrates (third century Halebiyeh (fifth-sixth century) and Egypt, Coptic (thir century and onwards).

At Palmyra, in the early tombs such as those of Jamblichu and Elahbel, the mummies were completely wrapped up i linen, some of which was very fine ; it is all S spun. Th pieces varied greatly in size and shape ; many of them cam from wearing apparel and were decorated with bands i wool, some dyed with true purple from the murex, th earliest to be identified as such.[2] In many places, some o them open bands near fringes,[3] the wool has perished leaving the spaces empty ; a particularly good example i T.95, a large shawl (*écharpe*) ; but M. Pfister is sure tha the evidence proves that they were all once filled with woo decoration. Perhaps, had it not been for Rabbinical disapproval of mixing wool and linen even on scroll-wrappers, our cloths would not have had empty spaces for sole ornament at the fringe ends, though occurrences of similar empty spaces have already been mentioned from the Coptic cloths; whatever the reason, I think it is certain that ours never were filled with wool.

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[1] On b. Schabb. 105a. For discussion on the ancient looms o Palestine, see G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, Vol. V. At th present day there are three types of loom in use in the country, th horizontal ground loom (*P.E.Q.*, April, 1944), the vertical loom, (*P.E.Q.* October, 1941) and the treadle loom (G. Dalman, *op. cit.*).

[2] R. Pfister. *Textiles de Palmyre*, 1934, p. 13.

[3] R. Pfister, *T.P.* III, 1940. T.95, fig. 7.

The corded starting borders, believed to be characteristic of the warp-weighted loom, were not found at Palmyra; the only two Near Eastern examples known to me are those shown on fig. 4(2) from Halebiyeh (fifth-sixth century A.D.) and fig. 4(3) from Akhmim, which is considered to be late Coptic because of the class of design on the cloth.

So far I have searched in vain for a parallel to the decoration in blue lines of flax thread. At Palmyra the linen thread is never dyed. From Dura I can only quote one example, Textile 255, in undyed linen with two groups of five bands each in blue linen dyed with indigo.[1] Among the textiles found at Karanis, Egypt, valuable for their dating to the fourth century A.D., only one piece showed a mixture of blue and white linen threads,[2] all other decoration on linen was of wool.

That the decoration on the Palestinian linen is of flax and not wool is one of the few facts about it that may help to indicate date. The indigo lines suggest at once the blue of the fine linen of Ancient Egypt, where, until the Coptic period, there was a strong religious prejudice against the use of wool. Perhaps the conservatism of Jewish piety assured the continuance of the Ancient Egyptian practice into the last centuries B.C., or even later. I can only hope that a study of any textiles of the Ptolemaic period lying unpublished in museums all over the world may in time produce a few parallels that will help to solve the problem.

[1] R. Pfister and L. Bellinger, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos*, Pt. II. The Textiles, 1945.

[2] L. M. Wilson. *Ancient Textiles from Egypt*. Michigan, 1933.

My thanks are due to Miss E. G. Crowfoot for the drawings on figs. 1–5.

MATERIALS CONCERNING THE DATING OF TH DEAD SEA SCROLLS[1] : I : HABAKKUK[2]

By O. H. Lehmann

In the October number of the *J.Q.R.*, 1949, Professo
Driver pointed out the difficulties concerning the datin
of the D.S.S. Following his suggestions the Hebrew an
Aramaic MSS. kept in the Bodleian Library have bee
examined with regard to the light they throw on the datin
of D.S.S. This essay sums up some of the conclusion
reached, at present, regarding S.H. only. The examinatio
has been based on the available texts[3] of S.H. What ar
the relations of the newly-found MS.-copy of S.H. show
by both external and internal evidence to other partl
unpublished fragments or MSS. ?

S.H. is written in a rare and triangular, though no
previously altogether unknown type of square-script. At a
early stage of research, the first century B.C. was suggeste
as the date when our copy of S.H. was written.[4] Followin
archæological evidence that seems to be Hellenistic, de Vau
has concluded that hardly any of the scrolls can b
appreciably later than the pottery.[5] Consequently th
cave cannot have been a genizah. However, th
MSS. do not all seem to belong to the same perio
Besides the debatable papyrus Nash,[6] inscriptions o

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[1] Abbrev. = D.S.S.

[2] Abbrev. = S.H.

[3] (*a*) The *Bibl. Archæol.*, Sept., 1948, Vol. XI, No. 3, p. 59 (facs. (*b*) *B.A.S.O.R.*, Oct., 1948, No. iii, p. 15 (facs.), (*c*) *B.A.S.O.R.*, Feb 1949, No. 113, p. 9 (facs.), (*d*) M. Burrows : D.S.S., Vol. I (Plate LV LXI), New Haven, 1950.

[4] *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 113, p. 23 ; *J.B.L.*, June, 1949, LXVIII, No. p. 161 f. (there " I. half of I. century B.C.E.").

[5] *Rev. Bibl.*, Oct., 1949, No. 4—The publication of de Vaux's 6 fragments may be of great importance for Heb. palæography.

[6] Abbrev. = P.N. ; variously dated : 2–1 century B.C. ; 1 cent. A.D. 2 cent., even 6 cent., cf. Albright in *J.B.L.*, LVI, 1937, p. 45–76.

one, etc.,[1] what other criteria can be found affecting the me when our copy of S.H. was written?

The problem has been approached in a threefold way :—

I. through an examination of script and literary evidence found in S.H. and early Hebrew documents,

II. through an examination of the tetragrammaton,

III. through an examination of some graphic peculiarities and traces of a partial vocalisation in S.H.

I. As materials for comparison the following MSS.[2] have been used :—(i) *the* "*Bodleian fragments*,"[3] i.e., partly unpublished Hebrew-Aramaic papyri, dated third-fifth century A.D., written in various hands, which came to Bodley from Egypt, part of them presumably from El-Fayyum. Sir Arthur Cowley's datings of this material have been used n our comparison.

(ii) *the* "*Bodleian papyrus*,"[4] the script of which is closely related to that of S.H., dated eighth[5] or rather sixth[6] century A.D. or a little earlier.

(iii) "*Steinschneider's papyrus*"[7] from El-Fayyum, a supplication for rain, written in a script that is still related to S.H. As this and other Hebrew papyri were found together with datable Greek and Arabic ones in very old Naskhi as well as Pehlevi MSS.; further, as one of the Arabic papyri is dated 125 h. (= 742 A.D.), there can hardly be any doubt that with Zunz and Sachau[1] St. P. should be assigned to th seventh-eighth century A.D. The Hebrew script found in th papyri of this group seems to have been prevalent from th seventh-ninth century A.D.[2] St. P. represents the terminu *ad quem* for our enquiry (cf. Table I). In a certain regio or old Jewish community a similar type of script may we have been cultivated for many generations, a fact which ha analoga in later centuries of Hebrew palæography.

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[1] Against their unmethodical use, cf. Prof. G. R. Driver in *J.Q.R.*, 1949, p. 127 f.

[2] I should like to place on record here my indebtedness to the photographers of the Oxford Univ. Press.

[3] Abbrev. = B.F.

[4] Abbrev. = B.P.

[5] *sic* Neubauer-Cowley, Catal. of Hebr. MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Vol. II, 1906, No. 2809.

[6] Cowley in *J.Q.R.*, 1904, Vol. XVI, Plate II, No. 5, cf. p. 7.

[7] Abbrev. = St. P., publ. in Zeitschr. f. ægypt. Spr., ed. Lepsius, 1879, Vol. XVII, Plate VII, No. 1; *Hoffman's Magazin* f.d. Wiss. d. Judentums, 1879, Vol. XVI, p. 249–54; cf. D. Chwolson, Corp. Inscript. Heb. (= C.I.H.), 1882, p. 120 f. The papyrus is being re-published.

(iv) Some Hebrew alphabets from *'Ain Feshḫa fragment* A comparison between the types of square script found i some of the fragments—one of which has, e.g., 'ēl in ol Hebrew script, etc.—shows that they belong not only t different hands but also apparently to different times, som at least to the Christian era.

It is to be expected that letters, deeds, notes written o papyrus, leather, etc., for private and other purposes a different times and places may not, like sacred scroll represent a uniform type, not even when written by the sam hand. Strictly speaking, anybody dating a group of MSS should for comparison take MSS. of the same materia type and region only. In the absence of dated Hebre MSS. on leather like S.H. we have to take a close analogo to the script of S.H., e.g., Hebrew papyri from Egypt, t which dates can be assigned with more or less probability Compared with such MSS., inscriptions on stone and text in dialects like Palmyræan and Nabatæan have considerabl less value for our purpose. In short, the problem concernin manifold variations may be formulated as follows : is i possible to distinguish between features that are typical of script as a whole and other features which owing to th writer's individuality, lack of skill, smooth material, etc., ar of secondary importance ? An examination of Table illustrating the " triangular " ductus of S.H.—analoga t which have been found only two or three times among man hundreds of Oxford genizah fragments—will show tha certain characteristic features in a group of early Hebre

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[1] cf. *Zeitschr.*, *op. cit.*, Vol. XVI, 1878, p. 116.

[2] cf. Chwolson, *loc. cit. et passim.*

SS. can indeed be traced. But, if that ductus represents style of a school of scribes or a limited area and period, seems likely, that ductus must be considered as one of those ondary features. Nor, as certain later Karaite MSS. uld seem to indicate, can it be established *a priori* that, far as Hebrew MSS. tradition goes, the non-use of our al letters does not represent, in certain cases, an archaistic ge in the Christian era—which would not necessarily ect the date of composition of a work. The distinction tween characteristic and secondary features in Hebrew læography has not so far been sufficiently taken into count. Moreover, the failure to use additional criteria a literary and linguistic kind may create the impression at a marked difference of ductus[1] means a great difference period as well.[2] As the provenance of B.F., B.P., and . P., and possibly P.N. is Egypt, S.H. may also have a ssible link with Egypt. In any case, this type of script, en in a modified form, is hardly found after the ninth ntury A.D. Actually long before " mixed " types of script occur.

For the purpose of the present enquiry it is important at is stage to throw some light on the literary and palæographic sociations of S.H. A few notes must suffice here to show) that the writer of S.H. was apparently familiar with aditions preserved in the targum on the prophets[3] and the idrash ; (*b*) that the MS. of S.H. seems to have been rrected at a later date in accordance with the Masoretic xt ; (*c*) that the " Bodleian papyrus " is closely related to H.

(*a*) I—(1) in S.H., col. III, l. i. B.[4] translates ובמישור ילכו " in uprightness." However, S.H. rather refers

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[1] Material on this point is in preparation.

[2] cf. also in *J.T.S.*, 1949, Vol. L., No. 199–200, p. 169–73 on E. L. kenik's *Megilloth Genuzoth.* I am indebted to Prof. Danby for his vice and letting me use the New Haven ed. of S.H. at an early date.

[3] Abbrev. = T.

[4] i.e., Brownlee in his courageous first attempt to translate S.H. *A.S.O.R.*, No. 112, p. 8 ff., No. 114, p. 9 f., No. 116, p. 14–16).

to the “ straight path ” of Dt.–Is. much as in Is. XL,
T. translates M.T. ישרו בערבה by בישו במֵישרא
(2) S.H. III, i (ולבוז) לכות, root כתת. The dire
association of כתת with בזז does not occur in M.T. but
known from the T., which renders Zech. XL, 6 תתו את הארץ
by ויבזון. (3) Hab. i, 6b לרשת משכנות לא לו is in S.
interpreted by לבוז את ערי הארץ (perhaps apocalyptic
similarly T. renders דאזל לאחסנא קרוין. (4) S.H. III, 1
the interpretation of Hab. i, 9 in S.H. by ושו את הארץ
(trample on, thresh) as referring to the destruction of kingdo
(cf. l.i) has a close analogy in T. דוש = קטל עממיא; cf. T. on
XLI, 15 תדוש הרים וגו׳ : קטל עממיא ותשיצי ומלכותא וכ׳
(5) In Is. XVI, 7, T. translates לאשישי קיר ח׳
אנש כרך ; correspondingly in S.H. VI, II the שישים
are enumerated together with old men, women, a
children. (6) in S.H., col. IX, 15 X, 1 M.T. וכפיס מעץ
interpreted by כפוס עיצה,[1] which B. translates
“ rafter of timber.” However (*a*) in agreement with t
midrashic tendency to give more than one interpretatio
the scribe later added a yodh on top hinting at the ro
יעץ ; (*b*) for עיצה = counsel, cf. S.H., col. XII,
Zad. Fragm.[3] IX, 48; (*c*) in the only passage (Jerem. VI,
where a form עצה (trees) does occur in MT. (Ke
Occident.) the Kerē Oriental., LXX, Vulg., Syr., etc., ha
עצת. The allusion refers to an unknown usage of a nou
כפוס, cf. Aram כפם = to bind, כפת = to bind, put
stocks, and the hap. leg. כפיס, usu. transl. “ beam
(Hab. II, ii)—B.D.B.[4] explains כפיס by “ appar. (si vera
term. techn. for some beam,” which translation
supported by Sym. *σύνδεσμος οἰκοδομῆς*, Theod. and Quin
ἔνδεσμος ξύλου (cf. Mishnaic כפיס = girder). Codex B h
κάνθαρος = knot (resembling a beetle); Vulg. circumscribe
lignum quod inter juncturas aedificorum; Syr. guesses:
which renders Hebr. יָתֵד, את and may mean wedge, sc

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[1] Rather than כפיס as in S.H., 1950, plate LIX, col. X, l, i.

[2] cf. col. XIII הארץ העץ הרץ.

[3] Abbrev. = Z.Fr.

[4] Ed. 1906, re-pr. 1939, p. 496.

excrescence, ploughshare, etc. The dictionaries do not elu-late the phrase כפוס עיצה. It can, however, be explained a usage based on the language of T. For T. translates ab. II, ii by ארי אבנא מכתלא צוחתא על דאניס לה ושפא, behold, the stone crieth out of the wall because he *eth violence to it.*" The word כפיס of M.T. is here derstood not only as a " block of hewn stone " but also as one to which violence has been done." This interpretation eserved only in T. seems to have been familiar to the riter of S.H. who apparently understood כפיס עיצה as violation of sound counsel," a meaning fitting the context ell[1]; cf. also T. on Is. V, 7, which like our section deals ith מִשְׁפָּט. There T. translates ויקו למשפט והנה משפח ואמרית דיעבדון דינא והא אנון אנוסין. The method of egesis used in S.H. is midrashic rather than comment-ory or merely expository.

(*a*) II—In Hab. II, 10b M.T. has קְצוֹת עמים רבים וְחוֹטֵא נפשך, uoted in S.H. (col. X, 2) as קצות עמים ר׳ וחוטי נפשך. . translates " thou dost sin against thy soul "[2] taking קצו and חוטי as verbs. Also LXX (συνεπέρανας) takes קצות a verb. But the writer of S.H. giving the passage a new rn takes וחוטי as a noun (pl. constr.) ; in fact its parallel-m to קצות leaves no doubt that in S.H. a noun is eant in the latter too (as in M.T.). The noun קצות ay be understood in a apocalyptic sense, which in Talmud nd midrash is often connected with קץ and in S.H. eferred to בית משפט.[3] Apparently we are in S.H. onfronted with a pre-Masoretic tradition, which had here wo nouns, where LXX had two verbs (קצות ותחטא) ; hereas the difficult text in M.T. seems to be based on a conflation of two readings, the first of which at least (צות though generally corrected) was based on good traditio As וחוטי cannot be derived from the root חטא, th explanation has to start with the fact that חוטי נפ׳ "the threads of your soul" is in S.H. interpreted by judgme through fire. That interpretation seems to presuppose tradition found in a Baraita handed down by the secon century Tanna Abba Jose b. Dostai (Δοσίθεος). Th Baraita like S.H. deals with the taking of life (נפש) an the burning of one condemned to death.[1] The Gema is here engaged in proving that "burning" does not mea burning literally as the Sadducees seem to have taken it The likelihood that we are here confronted with an exegetic difficulty that existed already in the second century becom even greater when it is remembered that Abba Jose is know to have concentrated on the exegesis of difficult or contra dictory passages in the Bible.[3] In the light of the old form of A.'s tradition, which is preserved in the midras Sifra,[4] it was particularly apposite for S.H. to follow u כפוס עיצה with חוטי נפשכה. For in an analogou way it is explained in Sifra that the sin of Nadab and Abih arose from their failure to take counsel (עיצה) from Mose Therefore threads of fire (חוטים) went forth from th Sanctuary to kill their "souls" (the נפש) withou consuming their clothes. The conclusion would see probable that the writer of S.H. knew of traditions preserve in a Tannaitic Baraita.[5]

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[1] The beginning of the commentary (col. X, 1) does not refer simply building-stones, but also to stones concerning which עשק (oppression) as practised. One might think of some sort of valuable stones like the אבני תקונ of which R. Hanan'el (on Bab. Talmud, Sabb., fol. 66b) plains that they were " well known " and were worn even on Sabbath f. 'Arukh *ad loc.*).

[2] In *B.A.S.O.R.* op. cit.

[3] cf. the interpretation of גמר הקץ in S.H., col. VII, 1–2 on Hb. II, 1 ; . also S. M. Stern in *J.B.L.*, LXIX, 1 (March, 1950), p. 19 f.

(*b*) There are in S.H. four or five instances where the scro seems to have been adapted to the text of M.T., which th

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[1] cf. Bab. Talmud, Sanhedr., fol. 52a.

[2] Rashi's comment, *ad loc.*

[3] cf. W. Bacher, Ag. d. Tannaiten, II, p. 388f.

[4] Ed. I. H. Weiss, VIII, 33, on Lev. X, 2.

[5] For הוא אשר אמר (S.H., col. III, 13, 14) as a term of th midrash and the Amoraim cf. S. M. Stern, *op. cit.*, p. 26, No. 10. Als the association of the Lebanon with the sins of Israel (S.H., col. XII, 1f is handed down in the name of the 4th cent. Palest. Amora R. Isaac Tablai (cf. A. Hyman, Toledoth Tan., 1910, p. 800), etc. The Lebano also symbolises the Temple (cf. Gitt. 56b).

ector apparently had in front of him for comparison with
inherited text of S.H. Two examples may suffice here.
Hab. I, 8a/b M.T. reads ופשו פרשיו ופרשיו מרחוק יבאו יעפו,
ifficult text. S.H. according to the transcription[1] reads
פשו ופרשו מרחוק ( ) יע. A careful examination of
palæography of S.H. shows, however, that the
d letter of פשו, made into a waw in the text as
stands, is never written like that in S.H. (cf. also
ble I) ; it is therefore a correction bringing this word into
eement with M.T., which in this case is corrupt. For
æographic reasons the letter written there can hardly
e been anything but the letter ר with a narrow cap.
e word פשו is explained by B.D.B. [2]as " appar. spring
out . . . but prob. del.," by Gesenius-Buhl[3] as " stolz
hersprengen . . . wenn . . . nicht dittogr." ; Kittel
45 ed.) proposes ופשו פרשֵׁי.—LXX has the interesting
ding *καὶ ἐξιππάσονται οἱ ἱππεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁρμήσουσι*
κρόθεν which seems to presuppose a Hebrew text
ופרש יפרשו פרשיו מרחוק; פרש may possibly have been
en by LXX in a double sense : פרש as inf. abs. " ride head-
g to " (cf. the first verb in LXX) and in the sense of Aram.
פ = " to burst forth " cf. also Jud. v, 22. The Vulgate
nslating " diffundentur equites ejus " may possibly have
d פשר יפרשו פרשיו or פרש. Originally S.H. can hardly
ve had anything but פש(ר) יפרשׂו פרשו.[4] LXX, Vulg.,
d S.H. indicate the error that occurred in M.T. :
פ>פשו. The fact that one of the two nouns פרשיו in
.T. conceals the verb, first noticed by Professor Driver in
38,[5] has been confirmed by S.H. However, the corrector

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[1] Plate LVI in Ed. 1950, col. III, 7.

[2] p. 807.

[3] 17th ed., 1921, p. 637–8.

[4] cf. Aram Pa. פשר = disengage, tear loose. For a verb finit. with an
abs. of a verb similar in sound cf. Davidson. Syntax, §86 c. rem. 2.

[5] In *J.T.S.*, Vol. XXXIX (1938), p. 394f. he suggested ופרשׂו פרשיו.
I. has the reverse order פרשו יפרשו. Actually, the suggestion to read
verb פרשׂ rather than פרשׁ admirably fits Hab. I, 8, as quoted in S.H.
well as Is. XXII, 6 where Professor Driver reads ברכב ארם פרשׂים =
ne Syrians deploy with chariotry " (*op. cit.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 40–41.

of S.H. did not realise that his scroll had preserved a go old text. Another example of adaptation to M.T. is fou in Hab. I, 10b ; M.T. has : שחק ויצבור עפר וילכדה S.H. originally read (col. IV 3): חק יצבור עפר ו[י]לכדהו A second hand, however, added a waw to צבור>יצבור which is less fluid but adapts the reading to M.T., etc.

(*c*) Among the Hebrew-Aramaic papyri used for c comparison only one, owing to its importance for the prese enquiry, can obtain consideration here : the " *Bodle papyrus*."[1] It contains a letter or message written by unskilled hand in a semi " triangular " script, during son undertaking by the priest Eleazar b. [Yohan], the outcon of which was awaited with anxiety. E. was a married m who had children and two sisters, one of whom, the writ was married too. The nephew, whose prayer for E. mentioned seems to have been particularly dear to As the text has been damaged by a crack in the papyr some letters were lost, which led Dr. Cowley to believe th the letter remained unfinished. A slight emendation of o damaged word,[2] however, makes the document intelligib

The text runs :—

1. מן [a]חרקן ברת [b]יו[ח]נן כה[נ]ה [c]לאלע[ז]ר אחי חבובי
2. ורחימי [d]סברי וסב[ו]י [e]ופלטתי [f]ממביתה
3. דאבה שלם [g]צלותו דבני [h]ל[ח]יך ודמרים
4. [i]חתי שותפתך ודבניכון

Translation : (l.i) from Hrkn, the daughter of John, t priest, to Eleazar, my dear and (l.i 2) beloved brother, n hope and trust and my " remnant " from her shelter ((l.3) languishing—Greeting. The prayer of my son is f your [life] and of Miriam (l.4), my sister, thy companio and of your children.

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[1] B.P., an Egyptian papyrus (ca. sixth cent.), measuring 6½ x 6¼ inch bought from Grenfell on 14th April, 1896. A tentative translation here offered for the first time.

[2] ל(ח)יך in l. 3.

Notes—(*a*) For the hypocoristic form of the name cf. Yohan
)[1], cf. אַחְיָן (I. Chron. VII, 19), יהודה >יודן; אשי> אשיאן.[2]
hether the fem. name is connected with Ὑρκανος
הורקנ on Maccabæan coins) is uncertain, although
ritus lenis and asper may become ח.[3] To a Hebrew
der the root would[4] suggest the idea of "gnashing one's
th"; (*b*) Cowley reads יוחנן,[5] but a comparison with נ
the fifth word shows the spelling to be יוחן;[6] (*c*) ז (l.i)
d ח (l.3) dropped out owing to the crack; (*d*) cf. ψ CXIX,
5, also Sifra, ed. I. H. Weiss, fol. 86b top; (*e*) Jud. XXI,
; II Ki. XIX, 30, 31; (*f*) Cowley[7] reads ממבוֹתה (with
or י). The word seems to be connected with Arab.
مَ = shelter for the night[8] rather than, e.g., the Aph'el
בית (to keep over night), cf. Pa.; (*g*) instead of pure
am. צלותיה; c. also the stat. emphat. ending in ה (l.i);
rather than ת or ט (*sic* Cowley) ח should be supplied
ming a noun, unless the word conceals a name; (*i*) instead
אחתי, cf. Syr. ܚܬܝ. In the script as well as in the
fluence of Aramaic, Syriac, and perhaps Arabic on the
xt B.P. is related to S.H.

I. *The palæographic evidence.*—For the development of the
ript found in S.H. the terminus ad quem has, as B.P.,
. P., and the fragments show, been fixed too early. The

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[1] Lidzbarski, Ephemeris, Vol. II (1908), p. 7 records יוחא.

[2] cf. Enc. Bibl., Vol. III, col. 3302, 77.

[3] S. Krauss, Lehnwoerter, I, 80, 99, 189.

[4] As in Aram., Syr., Arab.

[5] cf. Bodl. Catal., Vol. II, No. 2809.

[6] B.P. throws light also on the difficult building-inscription of a
nagogue at Kefr-Ber'em (W. of Safed), cf. C.I.H., table I, 16, the
me being read בריתן; בריתו; יפון; יונ(ת)ן (*sic.* Chwolson). If
reproduction is reliable the letter in question is not נ + ו (cf. נ in
. 15), but ח. This second-century synagogue was built by Eleazar
(Yohan), the same name as in B.P. and possibly the same family. It
well known that after the destruction of Jerusalem many priestly
nilies settled in Galilee, cf. also the facs. in MGWJ, April 1865, No. 2;
further E. L. Sukenik, Schweich Lectures, 1930, p. 24f.

[7] In *J.Q.R.*, XVI, 7.

[8] Suggested by Mr. Isserlin.

datable Dura-Europos fragment,[1] which was taken as terminus ad quem for P.N.[2] is by no means also that the dating of S.H. (cf. Table 1). D.E. contains featu differing in a typical way from the alphabets reaching fr ‘Ain Feshha[3] to St. P. Unlike all the other alphab used for our enquiry D.E. has in the letter ג a shar pointed foot ; in ד a curved cap ; in [4]ה and ח the starting from the right-hand stroke is bent inward ; ה ח are here not distinguished as in the other alphab ו has hardly got a head. ט is not pointed at the botto מ has the usual left down-stroke approaching the horizon Final ם does not reach beneath the bottom of the scr The right-hand stroke of ע is bent more towards horizontal line. ק has nowhere in our alphabets such right-hand stroke. The left-hand strokes of ת and ש different too. Although a different view taken of the squa script in D.E. would not seriously affect the dating of P. there is still sufficient difference to show that with refere to S.H. it belongs to a different group of MSS. altogethe

Regarding the palæographic evidence affecting question of when our copy of S.H. was written, a compari shows that it is obviously later than the papyri of Edfu a obviously older than St. P. The problem is to what ext the margin can be narrowed down. S.H. seems to be la than P.N., because it has not got characteristic old lett like its ה ; final ם reaching below the bottom of script; a looped א, etc. If, following Albright's lower lim P.N.[5] could perhaps be assigned to the first century —the liturgical use of the ten commandments in the syr gogue ceased in the Christian era—our MS. of S.H. can no longer belong to that century.[1] The close relation in essential features of the script of S.H. to the “ triangular ” types found in the Egyptian papyri of the Christian era makes that even more probable. We shall have to restrict our analysis here to some characteristic resemblances.

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[1] Abbrev. = D.E., dated middle third cent. A.D. or earlier, Excavations at Dura Europos, prelim. report, 1932–3. New Hav 1936, Pl. XXXVI, No. 1.

[2] Cambr. M.S. Or. 233.

[3] Abbrev. = A.F.

[4] The last word of D.E l. 2 should be read not התמה (*sic* Excav p. 418) but התקין.

[5] Originally containing the Shema‘ followed by the ten comma ments, cf. W. Albright in *J.B.L.*, LVI (1937), p. 145f. and M. Segal Sefer Torczyner, ed. J. Klausner, 1937, p. 27f.

It is important for us to distinguish carefully between typical or essential and secondary features of the letters. Typical for a script are e.g., the relation to ceiling and bottom of the line ; position of left and right strokes in relation to other types of Hebrew square alphabets, etc. These are some of the analogies : the letter ג with a foot forming not a sharp but a broad angle occurs in A.F. II, S.H., 3-5th c.fs.,[2] 5th c.fs., and perhaps in St. P. ; ד with two points on the cap distinguishing it from ר occurs in A.F. II–IV, S.H., and 3-5th c.fs., 5th c.fs., B.P., and St. P. ; hē (ה) from the horizontal cap of which two vertical strokes descend (forming no “ window ” on the left) at the distance of about $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{2}{3}$ from the left end, occurs in A.F. I–IV, S.H., 3-5th c.fs., B.P. ; waw (ו) with a sharply pointed cap occurs in A.F. I–II, S.H., perhaps 3-5th c.fs., B.P., St. P. ; hēth (ח) with two points on top distinguishing it from hē occurs in A.F. III–IV, S.H., 5th c.fs., and B.P. ; ט not more or less straight but pointed at the bottom occurs in P.N., A.F. I, S.H., 3-5th c.fs., [2]5th c.fs. (though modified), B.P., St. P. ; yodh (י) with a sharply pointed cap occurs in A.F. I–II, S.H., B.P. ; final kaph (ך) with two points at the top occurs in P.N., A.F. III, S.H., 5th c.fs., B.P. ; ל with a long more or less vertical head occurs in P.N., A.F. I–IV, S.H., 3-5th c.fs., B.P. ; מ with two strokes being almost parallel in pointing left occurs in A.F. I–II, IV, S.H., rarely in 5th c.fs., B.P. (in transition to a late type of mem), St. P. (likewise in transition) ; final ם suspended beneath the

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[1] For the historical problems involved cf. A. Dupont-Sommer : Observations sur le commentaire d’Habacuc, Paris, 1950 ; the same in La Nouvelle Clio, No. 7 (July, 1950), p. 330–5 ; R. Goossens, *ibid.*, p. 336–53 ; Zeitlin in *J.Q.R.* XL, 1, p. 61 (1949) and passim, etc.

[2] Third-Fifth century fragments.

bottom of the line occurs in P.N., A.F. I, III–IV, S.I
3-5th c.fs., but in the 5th c.fs., B.P., and St. P. it seems
survive preferably in derivations from the root שלם
ס pointed at the bottom occurs in S.H., 3-5th c.fs., 5th c..
B.P., St. P. ; ק with the left-hand stroke touching the c
occurs in A.F. II, S.H., 3-5th c.fs., B.P., St. P. ; triangular
occurs in A.F. I–III, S.H., 3-5th c.fs. (though modifie
5th c.fs. (likewise modified, beside a late type), St. P. Ev
if the dates which Dr. Cowley provisionally assigned to th
Hebrew and Aramaic papyri should not always hit on t
right century, in any case in connection with B.P., St. P., a
other material they supply valuable additional evidence
the basis of which three important conclusions may be draw
(1) the script of S.H. seems to be more closely related to t
papyri of the Christian era than to the characters of P..
(2) P.N. stands somewhat apart in forms that sometimes a
obviously earlier than S.H., but at times appear to be la
(3) Many characteristics found in S.H. still survived in t
seventh-eighth or at least the fifth-sixth centuries A..
(4) Taking into account also the differences between t
scripts of S.H. and the other alphabets a number of featu
point indeed to an earlier rather than a later century of
period between the second-fifth or sixth century A.D., but the
are good reasons supporting the assumption of an archais
type of script. The margin can be further narrowed dow

II. *The tetragrammaton.*[2] An examination of the T
found in S.H. also throws some light on the period wh
our copy of S.H. was made. No word of the Hebrew Bib
has had and has kept as great a significance as the T
because it alone expressed not one aspect only but the essen
of God's being in its entirety. In the Temple the Tn w
pronounced by the high-priest.[3] The gnostics knew it

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[1] That is interesting in connection with the fact that final mem w
apparently one of the last final letters to be adopted, cf. also C.I.
p. 68 ; 'Okhlah we 'okhlah, ed. Frensdorff, No. 99.

[2] Abbrev. as Tn.

[3] Although according to Tos. Sotah c. 13 b ; Yoma 39 b that custo
was abolished long before the destruction of the Second Temple.

ell as the church-fathers. Actually, quite apart from a ving tradition about the Tn down to the days of the Sefer esirah and Se'adiah Gaon,[1] the amulet from Irbid, some eventh-eighth century Judeo-Babylonian magic texts, even ne survival of a Greek-Hebrew-Arabic tradition in the ፄ : ያፄ :: of Ethiopic magic prayers show the great gnificance ascribed to the Tn in the Christian era.[2] The arliest MSS. of the LXX gave the Tn in old Hebrew cript ; the second column of the Hexapla seems to have had t in square script[3]; regarding those old MSS. Origen nakes the important point *Ἑβραίοις Χαρακτῆρσι κεῖται τὸ νομα, Ἑβραϊκοις δὲ οὐ νῦν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀρχαιοτάτοις*[4] This nuch debated statement implies, according to R. Kittel, hat Origen either had before him MSS. in old Hebrew script or at least such Hebrew MSS. in quare characters as had the Tn in old Hebrew script[5] ike S.H. However, Burkitt was probably nearer the truth n referring Origen's "most accurate copies" to Greek MSS. In any case, MSS. like the Aquila palimpsests nave preserved the Tn in כתב עברי, though more and more Grecised in form, for centuries in the Christian era. Jerome[6] (d. 420) emphasises the point made by Origen : nomen domini Tn in quibusdam graecis voluminibus *usque*

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[1] On the Tn. in Se'adiah in "לשון עגא" i.e., "Samaritan," cf. M. Zulay in Ha-aares of 7.4.1950 (referred to by Prof. Kahle orally). The original passage in the Bab. Talmud, tr. Sanhedr., fol. 101 b, concerning people who lose their share in the world to come runs : Mishnah : אבא שאול אומר אף ההוגה את השם באותיותיו which the Bab. Talmud explains by תנא ובגבולין ובלשון עגה, the Palestinian by כגון אילין כותאי דמשתעבדין (ed. Wilna, 1922, fol. 50 b). In Se 'adiah's piut of the ten divine names (M.S. Oxford 2710, fol. 86a) the Tn is mentioned as the eighth name והשם השמיני ארבע אותיות וכתובות בלשון עגא.

[2] Eissfeldt in *Z.A.W.*, N.F., XII (1935), p. 75f.

[3] cf. W. Baudissin, Kyrios, I, 567, No. 1.

[4] cf. Migne, G.S., XII, 1104 ; Burkitt, Fragm. of Aquila, p. 15.

[5] In Realenc. f. prot. Th.u.K., VIII, 530, *sic* also Nestle. Following Baudissin, *op. cit.*, II, 1928, p. 6 the texts meant were Greek ; so also Professor Paul Maas whom I consulted in the matter. Baud. by the way takes *ἀντίγραφα* as transcribed texts.

[6] Prolog. Galeatus, beg.

hodie antiquis expressum litteris invenimus. A sixth centu
uncial MS., the palimpsest of Aquila's Greek translation
II Kings,[1] the Bible of the Greek-speaking Jews, a
Waddel's third century papyrus prove the correctness
Jerome's statement. We must therefore conclude that th
were also familiar with the old Hebrew writing of the T
From Jerome's words[2] and Justinian's decision concerning t
use of Aquila, it becomes clear that Aquila was in use al
from the fourth-sixth centuries, continuing the archaistic u
of the Tn as is evidenced by the Genizah fragments.[3]

Aquila, a convert, was a most conscientious follower of t
school of R. Akiba and its strict rulings. Would it not
unlikely for later scribes[4] to introduce the old Hebrew T
just into A.'s translation against his intention? Considerin
further the statements of Origen and Jerome as well as t
evidence of the coins of the Bar Kokhba war we are boun
to conclude that both Jews and Christians during the fir
Christian centuries and later knew of the use of the ol
Hebrew Tn in MSS. Concerning the question of ho
much older than A. its use may be, it must be borne in min
that the fear of not expressing all that is implied in the T

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[1] Ed. F. C. Burkitt, Cambridge, 1897; cf. C. Taylor, Hebrew-G
Cairo Genzah palimps., Cambridge, 1900, Waddel in *J.T.S.*, 194
p. 158f. Baudissin, *op. cit.*, follows Burkitt and Taylor in the assumpti
that in the Genizah-texts of Aquila waw and yodh are alike (cf. Burkit
op. cit., p. 15). A close inspection of all the passages in question show
however, that in reality they were distinguished (cf. table 2). T
scribes, however, who transcribed also the square Tn יהוה—quida
non intelligentes propter elementorum similitudinem (Jerome, Opp
ed. Vallarsi III, 270)—seem on the whole to have disregarded th
difference and reading the Tn from left to right got pi-pi. The Syria
ܦܝܦܝ and the improved reading ܝܗ ܝܗ of the Syro-Hexaplar Co
Ambrosianus are already influenced by the above-mentioned transcrip
tion, cf. *Z.D.M.G.*, XXXII, p. 470.

[2] On Ezek. III, 5.

[3] Following B. Jacob, Im Namen Gottes, p. 167 the Tn may have bee
pronounced 'Adonay since the Bab. Exile; in Aquila it was read Kyrio

[4] According to L. Blau (Gedenkbuch f. David Kaufmann, ed. Brann
Rosenthal, p. 54) the whole old Hebrew script was still used in th
third cent. A.D., but cf. S. R. Driver, Samuel ,1913, p. XI.

agrees very well with Aquila, but hardly with the freer spirit of the older translations. As the palæographic evidence will show also in S.H. the use of the Tn in כתב עברי must be considered as an archaism that was familiar in the first Christian centuries.

Only a few notes from a detailed study of the palæographic evidence concerning the Tn can be added here (cf. Table II). The tendency of simplification and adaptation to the graphic requirements of a late time is marked in the he and yodh of S.H. Their close affinity to the letters of the Greek Tn in the Aquila palimpsests (here influence of Greek uncials !) is surprisingly great. The simplified waw in S.H. seems to stand halfway between the waw in the second century coins and the Grecised type in the papyrus and palimpsests. The introduction of partly cursive and simplified forms as a rule belongs to a late stage. The Hebrew letters in the Greek and possibly the Tn in S.H. show how the old script[1] became increasingly less familiar.[2]

III. *Graphic peculiarities and vocalisation.*[5] For the purpose of dating S.H. some salient facts must suffice here :—

(*a*)—(1) *Graphic and orthographic* : S.H. like D.S.I.a[3] uses an oblong cross (X) at the end of a line to mark the place where the writing ought to have stopped. Thus the cross often fills an empty space. The same sign is thus used in an Oxford Genizah-fragment acquired through G. J. Chester in 1891. The fragment is written on vellum and contains a midrash.[4]

(2) Like many old Hebrew M.S.S. S.H. uses an א to fill the end of the line (cf. S.H., col. IIb, l.5).

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[1] In Taylor's *Aquila* hē and yodh, waw, have great similarity with uncial E and F respectively.

[2] The 9th–10th cent. scribes who no doubt knew the strict rules of protecting the Tn (cf. Mas. Soferim, ed. M. Higger, V, 9, p. 156 המוחק אות א׳מן השם עובר בלא תעשה, cf. IV, 1 f.) writing as they did over the Greek Tn had already forgotten its history.

[3] Abbrev. for Isaiah in D.S.S., New Haven, 1950. A description of traces of a super-linear system used in DSIa is in preparation.

[4] MS. Heb. c. 18, fol. 30 ; cf. Jellinek, Beth hamidrash, III, p. 159.

[5] Definite conclusions can in some cases be reached not on the basis of photographs but the original (and infra-red photography) only.

(3) S.H., though irregularly, uses a dot to indicate (the end of a verse[1]: col. IV, 10 ·לאלוהו (end of Hab. I, 11) V, 13 ·למשל בו (end of Hab. I, 14) ; VII, 6 ·נזב (end of Hab. II, 3) ; VIII, 14 ·למו (end of Hab. II, 7) (*b*) the end of the commentary before the beginning of verse : VII, 14 ·ערמתו (before Hab. II, 4a) ; (*c*) a supe fluous word : VII, 1/2 עׄל עׄל. A similar use of dots well known from Hebrew palæography.[5]

(4) In col. VIII, 14 the sign ̄ · has been used to ada S.H. ·וׄ[נ]ושב[ו]יך to M.T. נשביך (Hab. II, 7) ; in col. IV, ישחוׄקו is apparently meant to be corrected into שחקו (as in M.T.).

(5) The tendency to write ד in a way resembling final is found in S.H., col. IX, l.6 end (ביד) and the sixth centu B.P. (l.3, word 5).

(6) The omission of the letter א in a word in S.H (cf. col. V, 14 ויספהו with M.T. ויאספהו, Hab. I, 15 הרץ, col. XIII, l.1) is known from the Mishnah and text with old Palestinian vocalisation,[2] e.g., ארגה instead of Ti אַרְגָּה, cf. Mishn. מחיזין <מאחיזין.

(7) The replacement of the letter yodh by a non consonantal א under Aramaic influence in S.H. (col. VI, 11 אשישים) has parallels in texts with old Palestinian vocalisa tion, cf. Ψ CXIX, 130 פתאים with M.T. פְּתָיִים.[3]

(8) The interchange of שׂ/ס in S.H. (cf. col. I, 11 מאשר) has its parallels in the Mishnah, old Palestinian texts cf. תיפרוס,[4] and B.P. (l.2 סברי = M.T. שׂברי).

(*b*)—(1) *Phonetic* : S.H. has, it seems, both a dagesh fort (col. XII, 12, quotation from M.T.) אלמים and a dages ene מרדו (col.VIII, 11). With the later Masoretic maredhu, f. e.g. in the Keroboth on the 24 mishmaroth[1] forms like shabut" (שַׁבּוֹת), "ahlē" (אָהְלֵי), תַּהֲפוּךְ for M.T. שְׁבוּת, אֳהָל, etc. Also the double pronunciation of "begadkefat" was generally introduced by the Masoretes.[2]

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[1] Repeatedly a gap only is left for the same purpose.

[2] cf. P. Kahle, Masoreten des Westens, I, p. א f. (abbrev. = MdW and P. Leander in *Z.A.W.*, N.F., Vol. XIII, 1936, p. 91–99.

[3] MdW, p. כג.

[4] MdW, p. ח, V., Segal, Grammar, § 50.

[5] cf. e.g. C. Ginsburg, Introd., 1897, p. 321, etc.

(2) א has in S.H. entirely lost its phonetic value which grees with phenomena also found in early Rabbinic iterature: the Midrash Rabbah[3] on Gen. I, 31 following R. Meir (second century A.D.) explains הנה טוב מאד very), pronounced "mod," by הוה טוב מות (death) pronounced "mot"[4]; the Mishnah explains "thou shalt ove . . . בכל מאדך (thy might), pronounced "mod-" by הוי מודה לו (give thanks), pronounced "modeh";[5] the Talmud (Ber, fol. 57a) in connection with dreams nterprets מוֹרָשָׁה (inheritance) by מְאֹרָשָׂה (betrothed; probably pronounced "morasah"); the Pesikta de R. Kahana[6] on Is. XXXIV, 7 interprets וירדו ראמים עמם by רומינ (Romans), etc. Thus, following an old tradition, Rashi on the Talmud[7] explains Aram. אמוראי by אמוריים, etc. Correspondingly in S.H. classical כתיים appears as כתיאים[8] col. II, 7; 9 times altogether) under Aramaic influence; class. כשדים (Hab. I, 6) or כשדיים as כשדאים (col. II, ii,

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[1] In MdW passim.

[2] cf. P. Kahle, Cairo Geniza, 1947, p. 102 f; Bertholet-fest-schrift, p. 283 f. However, a reference to pronunciation problems seems to be ound, e.g., already with some third-century Babyl. Amoraeans (cf. Yoma, fol. 19*b*). The opinion that certain aspects of later Masoretic eaching have their basis in earlier centuries has found expression also in an anonymous Rabbinic assumption of oral Masorah (Ned. 37*b*) and in Aaron b. Moses b. Asher's Karaite conviction of written Masorah that went back to "Moses on the Sinai" (cf. Tarbiz, op. cit., p. 172).

[3] Ed. Theodor-Albeck, p. 70.

[4] ד and ת were pronounced almost alike, cf. also David Kimhi on Gen. I, 3. However, the reading of R. Meir and the Codex Severus was "mod" rather than "moth" (but cf. ב"ר).

[5] Berakh. IX, 5. The change of pronunciation was unconscious though, cf. R. Ismael in Bab. Talmud, 'tr. Erub., fol. 13a.

[6] Ed. S. Buber, fol. 68a.

[7] Berakh, fol. 54 a/b.

[8] "weicher Stimmeinsatz" for א.

quot. from M.T.) ; even גואים (once,[1] col. III, 5) again גוים[2] (col. V, 3 and often). The loss of א as a glottal sto explains the uncertainty of the scribe in placing a א: כי (once, col. VIII, 15 ; quotation) and כיא (col. III 2 and often, even in quotations) ; מפי (col. II, 7) an [מ]פיא (col. II, 2) ; יאמינו (col. II, 14) and יאמנוא[3] (co II, 6), even ויומרו (col. VIII, 7, though quoted fro Hab. II, 6) and הרץ (col. XIII, 1), pronounced " hares like old Palestinian הארץ, which is then explained a referring to wooden idols (ha'es) and the removal of th wicked from the earth (hares/haares).[4] The next step well known from Rabbinic texts, is the use of two waws t make clear consonantal ו: שוו (col. X, 10/11, class שוא מצוותו (V, 5 cf. class מִצְוֹתָיו) and two yodhs for consonanta י: ייעפו (X, 8), היים (col. XI, 2) ; cf. old Pal. תקווה אוון ; ידיים, ביריה, etc.[5]

(3) Also the constant elision of ה in the infinitive remind the reader, though not exclusively, of Rabbinic Hebrew, (*a*) verb. trilitt. : cf. Mishnah 'Erub. X, 15 שחית (<להשחית), etc., with S.H. (hif'il) לשחית (<להשחית

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[1] Unless added by a second hand.

[2] The same spelling גוים occurs (besides in M.T.) repeatedly in th Keroboth, MdW, p. ג, 12, etc.

[3] The loss of א in the pronunciation makes הואה even mor similar to Arab هو (S.H., col. I, 9) ; for Arabic influence on final ; cf. Prof. Driver in *J.Q.R.*, XL, 4 (April, 1950), p. 359f.; the addition o א against Masoretic grammar sometimes occurs also in the old Pal texts, קראוי = Tib. קָרוּי etc., cf. Leander, *op. cit.*, p. 97, later also i certain Karaite transcriptions of the Bible.

[4] S.H. (col. XIII, 1) throws light also on the obscure Masoreti term מקרא סופרים in Talmud Ned. 37 which passage states that th מקרא ס׳ ארץ(ארץ)שמים מצרים was a halakhah le-Mosheh mi-Sinai usuall explained as a reading in pausa. A. Geiger (Urschrift, p. 251) suggeste it meant reading ארץ הָאָרֶץ and מצרים, שמים with the dual although they were no real duals. However, those readings were never contested S.H. in conjunction with the old Palestinian vocalisation seems to explai the term : it was a reminder that once the pronunciation had bee hares, shamim, misrim, cf. also Tarbiz. XIV (1943), p. 170, on the geonim etc.

[5] MdW, ט VII ; י, III ; ח, V ; ט, VII.

l. IV, 13), לחריב[1] (<להחריב, col. VI, 8), לכשילם[2] להכשילם, col. XI, 8) ; also (nif.) לנעל (<להנעל, l. IX, 13) and (hithp.) לשתחות (<להשתחות, col. XII,) ; (b) verba med. waw : cf. Yer. 'Abod. Zar. III, 5 לד (<להדיח) with S.H. לקים[3] (<להקם, col. X, 10) ;) verba prim. ו״י : לוסיף (<להוסיף, col. VIII, 12), לוג (<להוגיע, col. X, 11), cf. also the analogy of verba imæ א מוגירות <מאגירות[4] and in the old Palest. vocalis-ion "abti" (אהבת) "konē" (כוהני) and "lārisak" להערצ), "lākīm" (להקים), "lassīl" (להציל), etc.[5]

(c) *Vocalisation*[6]: A careful examination of S.H. shows at besides the use of graphic signs known from the Masoretic riod and frequent orthographic agreement with the old alestinian texts, some vowel-signs, though used irregularly, ay perhaps be discovered both in S.H. and the Scroll of aiah ; in case of S.H. they seem to point partly to the iberian, partly to superlinear vocalisation. No study of l the details is intended at this stage, but an analysis of the are facts only as they are important for the dating of our IS. of S.H. :

(1) *The vowel u* : פשרֻו (col. XI, 4), perhaps ronounced "pishrū," cf. e.g., old Pal. "puneh" (פונה),[7] ישו, etc.

(2) *The vowel o* : יבֹוא (col. III, 8, quotation from ab. I, 9) with plene writing as often in S.H. and texts with d Palestinian vocalisation (cf. in Hab. II, 3, M.T. בֹּא יָבֹא ith S.H., col. VII, 9 בוא יבוא and old Palestinian

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[1] Hardly לחרוב as transcribed in ed. 1950.

[2] Hardly לכשולם, *ibid.*

[3] Hardly לקם as transcribed in ed. 1950.

[4] cf. M. Segal, Grammar, passim.

[5] MdW, p. ז, IIIa ; p. ה, V ; p. י, V.

[6] The following notes about traces of vocalisation should at present be ken for no more than suggestions the confirmation of which depends on examination of the original, as dots in MSS may be due also to causes various kinds.

[7] Leander, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

יבוֹאוֹ, תהפוֹך, לשמוֹר, etc. ;[1] ירוֹץ[2] (col. VII, 2
M.T. יָרוּץ, quotation from Hab. II, 2) ; הלוֹא (c
VIII, 13, quotation from Hab. II, 7, cf. Hab. II, 3, M.
וְלֹא with S.H., col. VI, 9 ולוא) ; בונה (? col. X, 6, M.
בֹּנֶה), quotation from Hab. II, 13.

(3) *The vowel å* : (*a*) sub-linear : סוסֶו[3] (col. III,
M.T. סוּסָיו, quotation from Hab. I, 8) ; אֶליהם (c
XI, 7, Tib. אֲלֵיהֶם, cf. old Palestinian עֲלֵיהֶם)
(*b*) super-linear : גבֿר (col. XI, 12 ; Tib. גָּבַר, pau
גָּבָר). For the form of the vowel cf. Tib. אָ or אֶ a
Babylon. Y̲. In the same way as in the formation of t
pronoun (הואה col. I, 9) and the verb (יאמינוא, col.
6) S.H. shows perhaps traces of Arabic influence (cf. al
B.P., 1.2), so in the super- and sub-linear use of the vowel
S.H. seems to betray the influence of Syriac (cf. ă = x̄
x̲, etc., and sect. 5, a/b).

(4) *The vowel i* : (*a*) corresponding to Masoretic
דִּברי (col. II, 9, Tib. דִּבְרֵי) ; פִּשרו (col. II, 11)
במִלחמה (col. II, 12) ; (*b*) corresponding to Masor. *e*,
ויספִהו (col. V, 14, M.T. וַיְאַסְפֵהוּ, quotation from Ha
I, 15) ; בהמִשך (col. VII, 12) ; ישפִטנו (col. X, 5). T
use of super-linear א = i and sub-linear אִ = i is know
from the Babylon. and Tib. systems respectively.

(5) *The vowel a* : Although it is known that in a numb
of cases Tiberian "a" appears in Babylonian as "i
(cf. Tib. דַּרְכּוֹ, Bab. דרכו), the analogy of the ve
(inf. hif.) : לשחית (col. IV, 13, pronounced "lashhit
<לְהַשְׁחִית), forms ending in gutturals : ישמח (col.
14, quotation from Hab. I, 15), and the preposition
בצר (col. V, 6), בה (col. XII, 8) seems to indicate th
the sign א corresponds to the upper point in Syriac denoti
the pronunciation with a "strong" vowel, here "a,"

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[1] MdW, p. ח, VI ; p. ט, VII ; p. י, iiia.

[2] Apparently added by a second hand.

[3] cf. facsimile in *B.A.S.O.R.*, Oct., 1948, No. III, p. 15.

[4] MdW, p. ז, III.

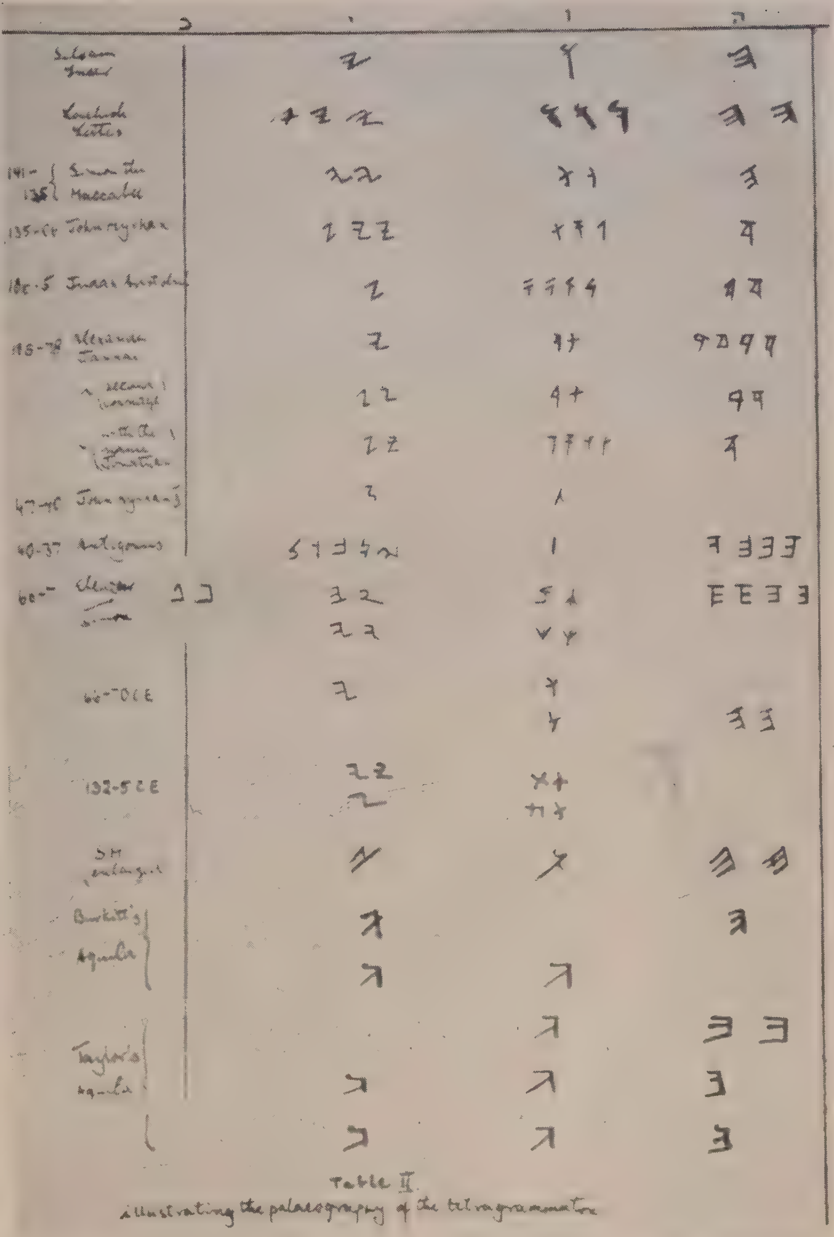
Siloam Inscript
Lachish Letters
141–135 Simon the Maccabee
135–104 John Hyrcanus
104–5 Judas Aristobulus
103–76 Alexander Jannaeus
66–70 Eleazar
66–70 CE
132–5 CE
SM enlarged
Burkitt's Aquila
Taylor's Aquila

Table II.
illustrating the palaeography of the tetragrammaton

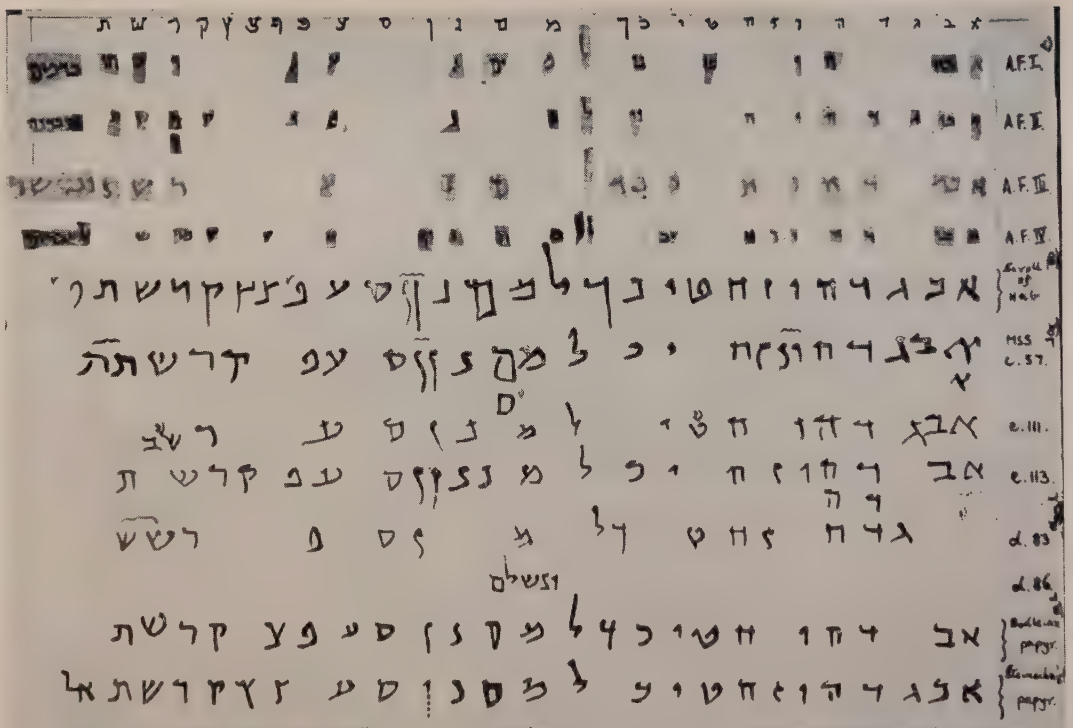
א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ך ל מ ם נ ן ס ע פ ף צ ץ ק ר ש ת
A.F.I.
A.F.II.
A.F.III.
A.F.IV.
Scroll of Hab.
MSS c.57.
e.111.
e.113.
d.83
d.86.
Bodleian papyr.
Elephantine papyr.
ונשלם

Table I
illustrating the script of SH.

Notes: α) alphabets from 'Ain Feshkha frag'ts
β) SH
γ) "3–5 century" fragments
δ) "5th century" fragments
ε) BP and SP.

1) The upper letter occurs in a 2 fragment
2) From a second fragment –
The table aims at presenting some characteristic types from each document; some of them have been enlarged.

o א = a in the Nestorian and late West-Syrian systems.[1] e sign appears both as a super-linear and rarely as a sub-ear one. A few examples must suffice : (*a*) super-linear : בעׄם (col. IV, 3), הדׄעת (col. XI, 1), מעׄשי (col. XII, Following the analogy of the old Palestinian vocalisation seems possible that in a number of cases the dots were ded also because the gutturals were no longer clearly onounced,[2] cf. בכעׄס (col. XI, 5, perhaps pronounced kas") ; ירחמו (col. VI, 12, perhaps pronounced yera(h)mū") ; therefore רשׄע (col. V, 9, perhaps onounced "rasha")— רשעה (col. IX, 1, perhaps onounced "risha," cf. old Palestinian "pāltā" (פעׄלתה), menutāk" (מנותתך)[3] ; (*b*) sub-linear : [ח]מׅס (col. VIII,) ; וחמׅס (col. XII, 9). The form of the sign א = a in H. seems to be influenced by Syriac usage, cf. (prep.) בה ol. XII, 8) and Syr. ܒܗ (bāh) ; (adj.) רב (IV, 3) and ܒܐ (tābhā) ; (noun) ומׄעל (I, 6) and ܥܒܕܐ ('ebhādhā) ; erb) יעלה (V, 13, perhaps pronounced "yale") and ܩܛܠ (naktel).[4]

(6) *The vowel æ* : Twice at the beginning of S.H. a vowel as been added, perhaps by a second hand. It corresponds Nestorian א or א = a or rather the א (= æ) and א = e)[5] of the old Palestinian system : הבאות (col. II, 10) ; קרי (col. III, 9).

(7) *The Shewa* (i/*e*) : המשפט (col. XII, 14, Tib. המשפ), cf. old Pal. לשמור,[6] תיישב corresponding to ib. תֵּשֵׁב,[7] cf. Bab. ימינך.[8] As to the dating of S.H.

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[1] Noeldeke, Syr. Gramm., §8 and 10.

[2] Similarly the Talmud explains שעורים (barley ; probably ronounced "sorim") by "sår(im)," the departing of men's iniquities er. 57*a*). For bibliographies, cf. Biblica 31, 3, p. 121–2 and arbericht, no. 11, Ex Oriente Lux, 1949–50, p. 41–71, pl. VII–XVIII ; AW, 62, 1–4, p. 224–45 ; Nouvelle (lio, no. 7 (July, 1950).

[3] Leander, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

[4] Noeldeke, *op. cit.*, §6.

[5] cf. Bauer-Leander, Gramm., p. 102 *et passim.*

[6] MdW, p. ד, IV.

[7] Leander, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[8] Mas. d. Ostens, p. 165 (Ezek. XXXIX, 3).

the material presented seems to indicate that, in sp of some influences later found in the Tiberian syste our MS. of S.H. both in orthography and perhaps vocali tion is related to the old texts with Palestinian vocalisati Our copy of S.H. can hardly, also from this point of vie have been written much earlier than those texts.

To sum up : there is no doubt that S.H. contains ve old material and that the script has marked archaistic featur However, we must consider also the close relation of t script in S.H. to the third-seventh century papyri, t relation of the Tn in S.H. to that in the Greek Bible MS and some acquaintance in S.H. with traditions preserved the Targum and the Tannaitic or later midrash ; we mu consider further the influence on S.H. of Aramaic, Syria and occasionally perhaps Arabic as well as the correction S.H. according to M.T. ; further, the use of graphic sig known from the Masoretic period and the relation of t orthography and perhaps the vocalisation found in S.H. texts vocalised according to Masoretic systems—there is present no evidence supporting the assumption that t vocalisation was added later. It seems, therefore, probab that our copy of S.H. can hardly be dated much earlier tha the beginning of the Masoretic period.[1]

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[1] If the texts with old Palestinian vocalisation should be assigned the fifth century A.D., it may be that the beginnings of the Masora a earlier than has been assumed so far. Considering also some of the te which have so far not reached the scholarly world, it seems that whi there were texts in the cave that are probably older than the destructi of Jerusalem, there are others which, to conclude from script and conten might well belong to the period of those Palestinian texts or little earli

If then the materials contained in the cave belong to a period of sever or even many centuries, ‘ Ain Feshha might have housed a kind of geniz after all. The cave apparently also contained texts which were neither wrappers of “ 1917 plus or minus 200 years ago ” nor in Hellenistic ja However that may be, the publication of all the fragments is an urge necessity. (This study was finished essentially in autumn, 1950.)

PALESTINIAN DRESS

By Jan Macdonald

The outstanding impression of native dress in Palestine, ad in particular, women's, was the richness of its diversity.

After living in the country some time, one could, more r less, tell at a glance what part of Palestine any dress came om. When the wearer realised one knew her locality, she ould gladly give additional details, such as the variant of belt or the embroidery on a veil of any particular village.

It was usual to speak of a dress as if it belonged to one illage, such as Bethlehem, but in actual fact it would be the ress of a whole area.

One was soon forced to ask the reason for this diversity. n old Arab living in the north declared it was because 'alestine had always been invaded, and the inhabitants had lways copied the dress of the invaders, the Romans, the reeks, Turks, Egyptians, and when the Europeans were in ower, then their dress was copied.

Mrs. Crowfoot in her valuable article on Ramallah mbroidery,[1] the first writing on clothes that described them vith precision, says that the Ramallah dress has " a general esemblance to the ancient Roman tunic with full sleeves and lavi (the bands which were originally the badges of the rder of Knights in early Roman days, became later merely rnaments) and its successive developments in the Coptic extiles but this must not be pressed too far ; the dress has volved a good deal since then, for instance, it has a round neck with a vertical opening, instead of the horizontal slit hrough which the ancients slipped their heads. The panel vith vertical bands at the back of the Ramallah dress is trongly reminiscent of the Coptic purple tapestry bands, and breastplates, too, are sometimes seen on Coptic tunics, but placed back as well as front and always between lo vertical bands."

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[1] *Ramallah Embroidery.* G. M. Crowfoot and P. M. Sutton, 1935.

One was driven to the conclusion that prolonged resea in all the libraries and art galleries of Europe was essent So that finally one decided all one could do was to rec and to photograph what one found on the spot.

One must report, however, that embroidered clothes mentioned several times in the Old Testament. Psa 45, 1, 4. Ezekiel 16, three times, and in Ezekiel 27 (Revi Version). Professor L. A. Mayer considers that Palestinian mosaics dating from the second to the si centuries show that the Palestinians wore Roman dre Some scholars think that a certain number of the Hebre adopted the dress of their conquerors and others did n If the shape of cooking pots and other utensils in daily use Palestine have not changed their shape for four thousa years, one would think that clothes might equally rem unchanged.

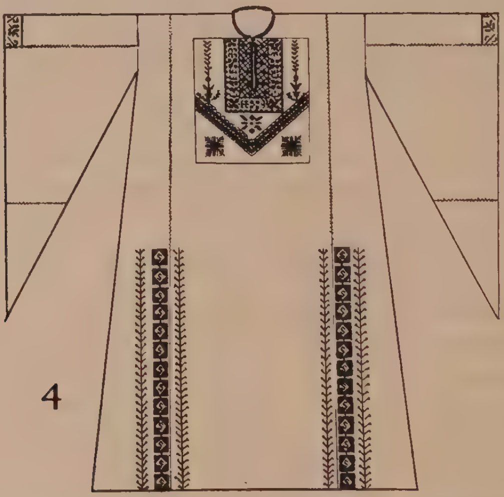

Fig. 4. Fustan (embroidery Ramallah).

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[1] *Biblical Costume.* M. Logan Wright. Part one. *S.P.C.K.*, 19

One must add that costumes with very fine embroidery re made in Moslem villages, where it appeared that the igns were oriental and not adulterated with European tterns as in Ramallah.

Fig. 4 shows the basic form of dress over a large area of lestine, its length, side panels, and embroidery vary ; ongst the Druse and at Madgal, a coat sleeve is used in ice of the winged sleeve. In the Nazareth area the *nbaz* is the dress, with which the long trousers or *libās* owing underneath are worn.

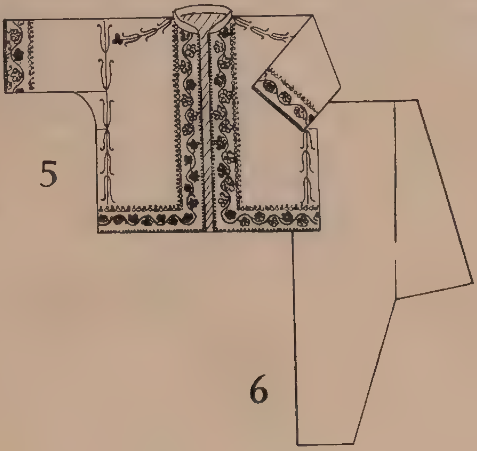

Fig. 5. Taqsireh, or Bethlehem jacket.
Fig. 6. Libās.

The Bethlehem Dress

The women of Bethlehem add greatly to the colour of the illage when wearing their best dresses made of striped silk f many colours, such as reds, orange, greens, cerise and urple. On top of which is worn the Bethlehem jacket, as een most clearly in the figure on the left of Plate XI. his jacket is known all over the country as the Bethlehem cket. It is made of velvet or broadcloth and usually it is eavily embroidered. The winged sleeves hang down below he sleeve of the jacket which is quite short. The steeple-like head-dress with flowing veils one is always told is a legacy the Crusaders. This is incorrect as these high head-dres did not appear in England until the reign of Edward about 1450[1,2] so that the evidence points to this fashion high head-dress being taken from Palestine to Europe.

The head-dress is called the *shatweh* and is a kind tarbush. It varies in height according to the taste of t wearer, but in most cases it is six inches high. A ridge solid material encircles the top with a gap in front, wh the same material, but pointed, is sewn to the tarbush abo the ears, to which the *iznaq* or chin chain is attached. T *shatweh* is heavily decorated about one inch from the to

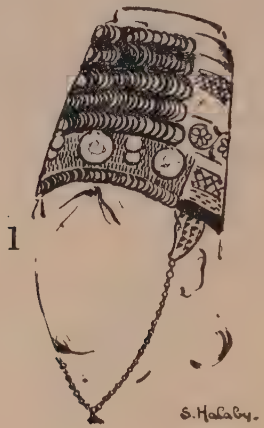

Fig. 1. Shatweh.

These decorations take the form of four or five rows gold or silver coins sewn across the front of the *shatwe* Each row has its own name. The richer the husband th more gold coins on the *shatweh*, which is the outstanding pa of the Bethlehem dress. It can only be worn by marrie women and its cost may vary from five to seventy pounc (1939 prices). Women who wear the *shatweh* say that the

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[1] *History of British Costume.* J. R. Planche, 1834, p. 207.
[2] *Costume and Fashion.* Herbert Norris. Vol. II, p. 445.

e so used to its weight, that when they take it off they
ffer from severe headaches.

All the older women tuck the veil into the *iznaq* so that
ither their neck nor the breast should show on the street.
is veil used to be handwoven in Syria. Now for the
unger women it is fashionable to wear a white and smaller
êpe de chine veil which is left flowing free and both the
ck and the embroidered breast are visible. This is a
uare piece of material called a *qabbē*, which is embroidered
ith gold thread and innumerable colours in the form of
uching. It is then sewn on to the dress. Strips of material
nning down the middle of the back of the arm are em-
oidered in the same way, described by a returned native,
as if with shining colours."

The illustration already referred to shows the foundation,
it were, of the dress. However, the Bethlehem dress is
ore shaped than any other dress in the country, having
ore gores and gussets. Each Bethlehem dress is composed
at least twenty-five pieces. The gores are quite often
nbroidered with an apple design. In the Arabian Nights,
dies' dresses are often mentioned with embroideries of fruit,
wers, birds and animals upon them.[1] These are to be
und in the dresses of Palestine.

The belt or *zunnar* is a shawl folded diagonally and
otted round the waist. Pink is the colour favoured by
ung women and green or dark blue for the widows, but
is is a matter of taste.

The every-day dress of the women is generally dark blue.
also is decorated by the square *qabbē* which is sewn on to
e upper part of the breast. If the wearer is in mourning
en the *qabbē* is covered with dark material and her earrings
ay have little black bags over them. Women wearing
eils but not *shatwehs* are unmarried.

THE RAMALLAH DRESS

This dress as seen in Plate XII is distinguished by its
assive and varied embroidery. As the dress is often of

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[1] *Arabian Nights Entertainments.* Sir R. Burton, 1885.

hand-woven material from Greece, frequently white, the embroidery is all the more striking, more so than w done on black or blue material.

The head-dress or *smādeh* (see Fig. 2) is particula interesting because it used to be worn all over Sama Fifty years ago it was worn in Nazareth and Cana but i said that travellers and tourists used to stare so much them that the women gave up wearing them. W. Thompson alludes to this head-dress in 1859 while Con mentions it in 1878. The writer found that fifty years a this head-dress was worn by Druse ladies in the village Abu Sinan near Acre, so it may have been common all o the north of Palestine. Today it is known throughout country as the Ramallah head-dress.

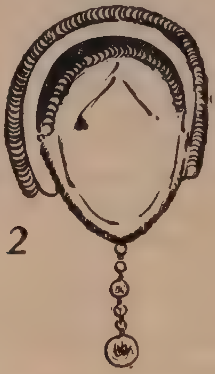

Fig. 2. Smādeh.

The *smādeh* consists of a roundish embroidered cap which is stitched a padded, stiffened, but flexible half moo It is made of about sixty inches of material wound round a round like an elongated surgical bandage. It looks like halo. A row of silver or gold coins is sewn both on t top and on the inside, like a fringe. At the back of the c is a roll of material into which the hair is bound. A b row of silver coins was sewn to the cap at the back of the he to balance the coins over the face.

The long veil is pinned to the bonnet at the back and ngs down freely. It, too, is often embroidered with cross-ch, though white or coloured silk shawls are used also.

The dress has embroidery not only on the *qabbē* but along seams in front and also the back where they are joined gether by the palm leaf design. In addition, the long inted sleeves are embroidered. A typical dress is made twenty-one separate pieces of material.

This dress is called the *mutarraz*.

"She embroidered the *mutarraz* and nobody saw her do it.
She even put velvet between the shoulder pieces.
Ye that have embroidered roses on your sleeves,
A mixture of loveliness and thorns.
You fascinate me with your designs.
May God keep your husband
And may you always be petted."

The every day dress is generally dark blue or black and ith less embroidery upon it.

The belt or *zunnar* is made of coloured striped silk from amascus. The colours usually being red and yellow. he shining gloss of the silk makes a contrast with the hand-oven material of the dress.

The Dress of the Women of Gaza

The dress of the women of Gaza is always of black or blue aterial, generally handwoven close by at Magdal. A ypical dress was found to be forty-one inches long, thirty nches round the hips and twenty-six inches round the reasts. The front panel and back are of one piece of aterial, an opening for the head being cut out. The eck was V-shaped in place of the usual round neck of the orth. This opening was embroidered in Eastern satin stitch in red silk from Damascus, or a little orange. Somewhere or other round the hem or on the underside of the sleeves the stitching will be of blue.

The dress examined was made of thirteen separate pieces of material. The front and back panel counting as one,

three panels at both sides, two pieces in each short-wing
sleeve which was fagotted on to the shoulder, an extra pi
inside around the neck for strengthening, and a mini
lozenge shaped pocket on the left hand side with five lines
embroidery. The pocket was approximately two inches lo
by one-and-a-half, so it could not contain much. One w
informed variously, that it was for an amulet, alum, e
black or a passage from the Koran, though this answer w
never given by a wearer. Her answer was always “
nothing.”

No belt was worn with this dress which hung down
shapeless bulging fashion. If the dress was sombre t
head-dress was frequently the reverse. To meet a party
Gaza women in the bright sunlight gave one the feeling th
one was encountering a party of jewelled crows. The bla
dress, the black *hatta* or veil, or a black *abayeh* on their hea
flapping as they walked, and over their faces either th
burqu' or face veil or streamers of silver, of gold coins, blu
red, cornelian, or amber beads gleaming in the sun. Th
burqu is the famous face veil mentioned in the Arabia
Nights and is worn only by married women, while th
unmarried wear the streamers.

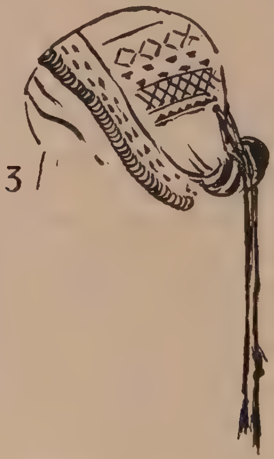

Fig. 3. Saffeh.

The head-dress is composed of a veil of black or orange aterial under which the married women wear a type of *ffeh* (see diagram No. 2) while the face veil or *burqu'* is mposed of the *asbē* or band round the head and the *sabeh* or material hanging from the forehead to the end the nose.

In the villages round Gaza, a very curious variant of the *rqu'* is worn, as seen in Plate XIII. This consists of vo solid rows of silver coins, fifteen inches in length which re looped to the *asbē* over the nose, hanging down the eeks. They are attached by chains to the *asbē* at both des of the face. The coins are most carefully sewn on the aterial in sets of fours which gives an evenness like feathers. n fact, seen at a distance, the illusion is created that the earer is walking about with the ruff of a bird.

EDOUIN WOMEN OF THE GALILEE DISTRICT AND OTHERS

The head-dress as shown in Plate XIV is a combina- on of an *asbē* and a wimple. One theory advanced was hat this had been evolved as a protection against mosquito ites in the low-lying Galilee area. A regular hood form is o be found in the Huleh district which adds support to this iew. However, the wimple is, as can be seen in the photograph of the Druse ladies, very much a part of their dress and they live chiefly in the north. Tradition played a far tronger part than utility. The Druse women always wore black and white, for working in the fields, or on festivals. Their long white veils were kept in place by black velvet or broadcloth *asbē* which were stiffened, so the effect was of wearing a black crown. The veils hung down loosely almost to the foot of their black dress. This dress had coat sleeves and appeared less bulky than many other dresses, partly due to the sleeves, and also to being made of thinner material. The general effect was to produce one of the most graceful dresses in Palestine.

Some of the married Druse ladies wear under their veils a tarbush with gold coins on it, called a *shakieh*. Some, too wear a silver girdle. But perhaps the most interesting part of their dress sometimes worn was an apron called *Maru* meaning something one owns. The ingenious suggesti being given that it was a corruption from Mamelul (Shorter Oxford Dictionary gives the meaning of this wo in Mohammedan countries, as slave.)

The dress photographed on the line in Jericho is to gi the idea of length, Plate XV. It is as long as the house its owner. The plain part is worn as an undergarment, ke in position by a belt. The long sleeves were knotted t gether and worn over the head where they were kept position by an *asbē*. Every line of embroidery had a speci name; the stitch was the Eastern satin stitch and the colou were low tones of purple, green, blue and a little white. Tl material was black and generally imported from Egypt.

Another variant of the veil was found in Hebron whe the ladies wear a printed muslin veil all over their face They are covered back and front with a large white envelo ing cloth like a sheet, the two ends of which are knotted the back. If there is any breeze, the cloth billows out like sail. The ladies can see clearly through the veil but no or can possibly see inside the veil.

Broadly speaking the town ladies (Mohammedan) veile their faces as well as their heads, and the country wome only veiled their heads. Christians veiled if living as minority in a fanatical small town, but the whole practic was declining.

The dress of Arab men in Palestine is more or less uniforn all over the country. The exception being that the ol men in certain areas would remain faithful to the tradition colour for the *laffa* which is often wound round the tarbusl For example, orange was the colour for Hebron.

The Nablus *bisht* or short *abayeh*, seen in Plate XV was handwoven in the Nablus area. It carried the traditio that it was the origin of the coat of many colours, while th outer garment, the *abayeh* was the robe Noah wore when h was drunk, and his sons walked on either side of him to hid his nakedness. As an *abayeh* is five feet wide by four feet lon it would be a possibility.

A typical *abayeh* is made of two strips of material twenty-ve inches wide by nine feet long, loosely seamed together that the selvedges lie flat. The material is then placed n a table or the floor and laid flat out ; the two ends urned inward for two feet on either side, leaving a gap or opening of one foot in the middle. At the top, the two elvedges are seamed together for the shoulders, and two lits eight inches in length are cut for the arms. A simple ne of braid is sewn on both selvedge seams, those going across the shoulders and the other, half way down the garment. After that, the front opening is hemmed, and edged on both sides with narrow braid. Round the neck nd over the chest the braiding stems out to an inch in width and sometimes develops elaborate patterns.

The most usual colours for an *abayeh* are fawn and black or sometimes striped brown and white. Originally it was made of camel's hair of which fawn is the natural colour ; and woven of this, it was waterproof. Today an *abayeh* may be made of either wool or silk. The material and amount of embroidery depend upon the taste and wealth of the owner. Some *abayehs* have gold thread work around the collar.

It is an excellent garment for sleeping out in, and can be used to carry one's belongings in, or for sheltering several children, or as the legend of Noah indicates, the sons of the owner.

The short *abayeh* or *bisht* is made on the same principle with the addition of sleeves. These are merely a cylindrical piece of the material fagotted on, to the slits cut for the arm holes. As the *bisht* is a short coat there is only one length of material in it. No braiding is used but in its place coloured wool for the hems, which as can be seen in the photograph, are on the right side. The *bisht* is fastened with a cord of wool. The *abayeh*, having so much to fold over, is never fastened.

THE JEWISH NATIVE DRESS

The Yemenite Jews are the oldest distinctive group of world Jewry. According to their own tradition they left

Palestine and began settling in the Yemen forty-two ye before the first destruction of the Temple. This is important point, for having left the country at a peace period, they were able to carry with them all kinds belongings, household goods and instruments for their spec arts. They were potters, embroiderers and silversmiths, of which arts they practise in Jerusalem today. Some them came back to Palestine in 1882 and others in 190

The dress of the Yemenite Jews is poor. They were n allowed to wear belts in the Yemen and so the traditi persists. The dress consists of a black cap, with a scarf rou it, two shirts, and a black square wool shawl called *shaml* a white one takes its place on the Sabbath. But every pa of the shirts has a different name. The poetry of the ga ment comes at the bottom of the top shirt, for a torn piece material is sewn on each side called *faragah*, as a remembran of the destruction of Jerusalem nearly nineteen hundr years ago.

The dress of the women is much more distinctive th that of the men, but space forbids one to expand furthe

The Bokharian Jews have the richest and most colourf native dress of any of the Jews in Palestine.

It is not known how soon after the Dispersion the Je migrated to Bokhara ; news about them came to Europe the ninth and tenth centuries.

The chief occupation of the Bokharian Jews consists trade of Persian furs, carpets, silks, and recently they took selling cotton. They are also craftsmen, being dyers. Bo men and women share a great love for beautiful fabric colours and good craftsmanship. The Bokharian Je came back to Palestine in the years 1880–1890.

Plate XVII shows them in their best dress. The wom in rich brocade and the man in material for which t trade name in Europe is *chenie*. Coloured patterns a printed on the loosened warp before the weaving takes plac with the result that though the patterns are clearly define they have a softened edge. One has seen a man wearing *djoma* of dark blue, petunia, bright yellow, which becau this softened edge, was both harmonious and pleasing. his special process seems to have originated in India, in e early centuries of the Christian era. It then spread to rabia, where it was practised in the Yemen in the early lamic period. Much later this technique was passed on om the Islamic world to Europe. This material was equently used in England and France in the eighteenth nd nineteenth centuries.

The Hassid Jews

The fur-trimmed hats and the long robes worn by the assid Jews are such a feature of the streets of Jerusalem on aturdays that one was interested to explore their origin. his costume is often described as belonging to the Palestine rthodox Jew ; this is not quite the case, for many rthodox Jews do not wear it, for it is the dress of a certain ct of Jews, namely, the Hassids, who came first to Palestine 1777.[1]

The Hassids do not accept the Talmud for study and ducation. They are mystics for their religion is based on e Kabbala. They live strictly according to the dogmas hich are given to them by their *Zadik*, whom they visit ithfully every Saturday.

The most distinctive part of the Hassid costume is the ead-dress called the *Shtraml*. This is a large black velvet at, the crown of which is banded round by tails of fur, sually thirteen in number, and of fox or skunk according the wealth of the owner. This hat is a copy of a Lithuanan nobleman's hat of the fourteenth century, with the xception of the brim which had to be narrow for the Jews, n order that their recognition might be swift. Under this at a cap is worn.

The other garments are : a shirt of white cotton called *emd*, trousers also of white cotton known as *weisse gatjes*. hese are worn inside long white socks known as *socken*. hese are kept in place by a piece of string tied under the knees. The shoes or *pantoffel* are made of black leath covering only the instep and with low heels.

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[1] *Encyclopedia Judaica.* Berlin, 1930.

The praying coat is worn over the shirt and trousers a is made of a strip of white cotton material with a V-shap hole cut in it for the head. The praying coat has two bla stripes at each end which are also fringed. The *kaftan* h an upstanding collar, opens in the front, one side foldi over the other. This garment resembles the Arabic *qumb* The colours are usually black and yellow, or sometimes bl and silver. It is of stiff silk woven in Syria. The Hassi used frequently to send lengths of this material to relativ in Poland for their *kaftans*. The belt consists of three stri of bright coloured and silvered silk, sewn together and fold in three, then wound tightly round the body from right left.

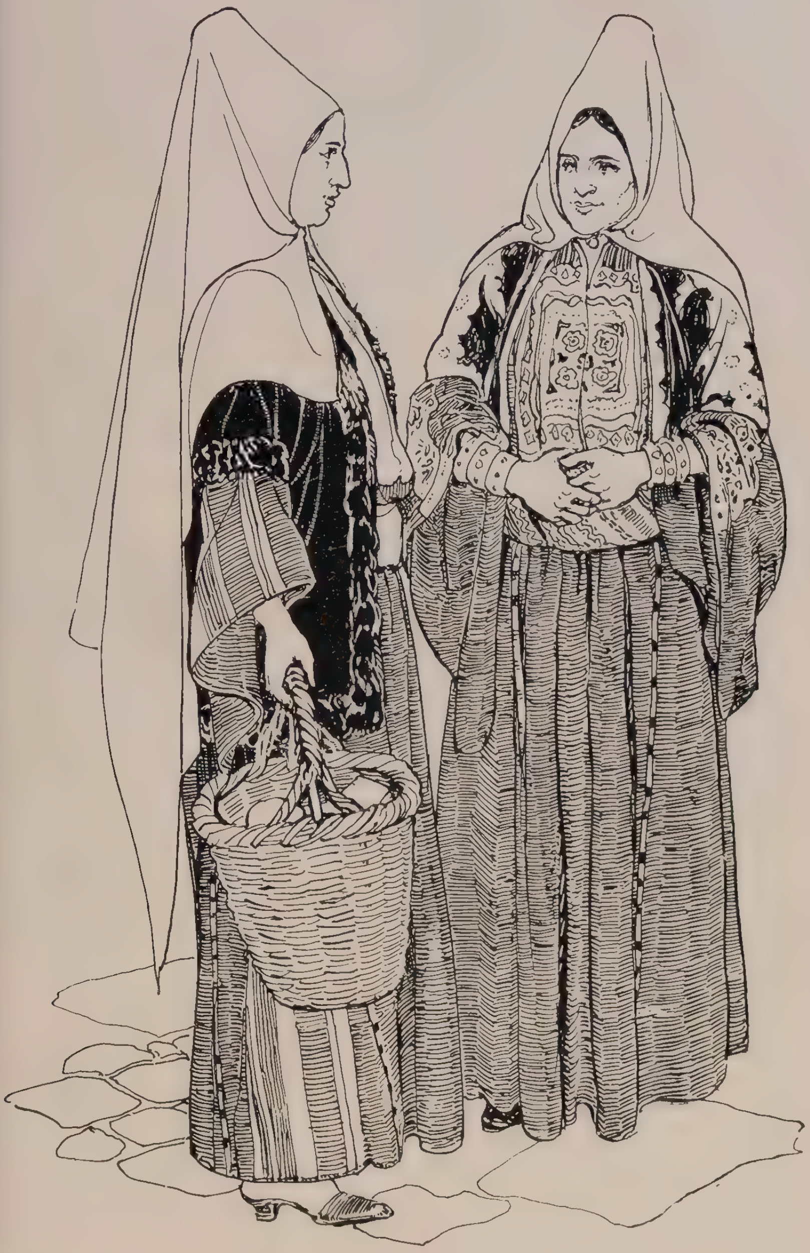
Sometimes the Hassids also wear an overcoat of colour silk or velvet which may be fur-trimmed.

The only other article of dress is the *Tallis* or prayi shawl which is exhibited only in the Synagogue while prayin but it is forbidden to wear it on Friday evenings, thus t hat is worn in the Synagogue on that day. The prayi shawl is usually of white silk with black stripes at the tw fringed ends. The part of the shawl worn round the neck often trimmed with silver coloured embroidery. The sha is worn over the head on the Sabbath with a white cotton c underneath.

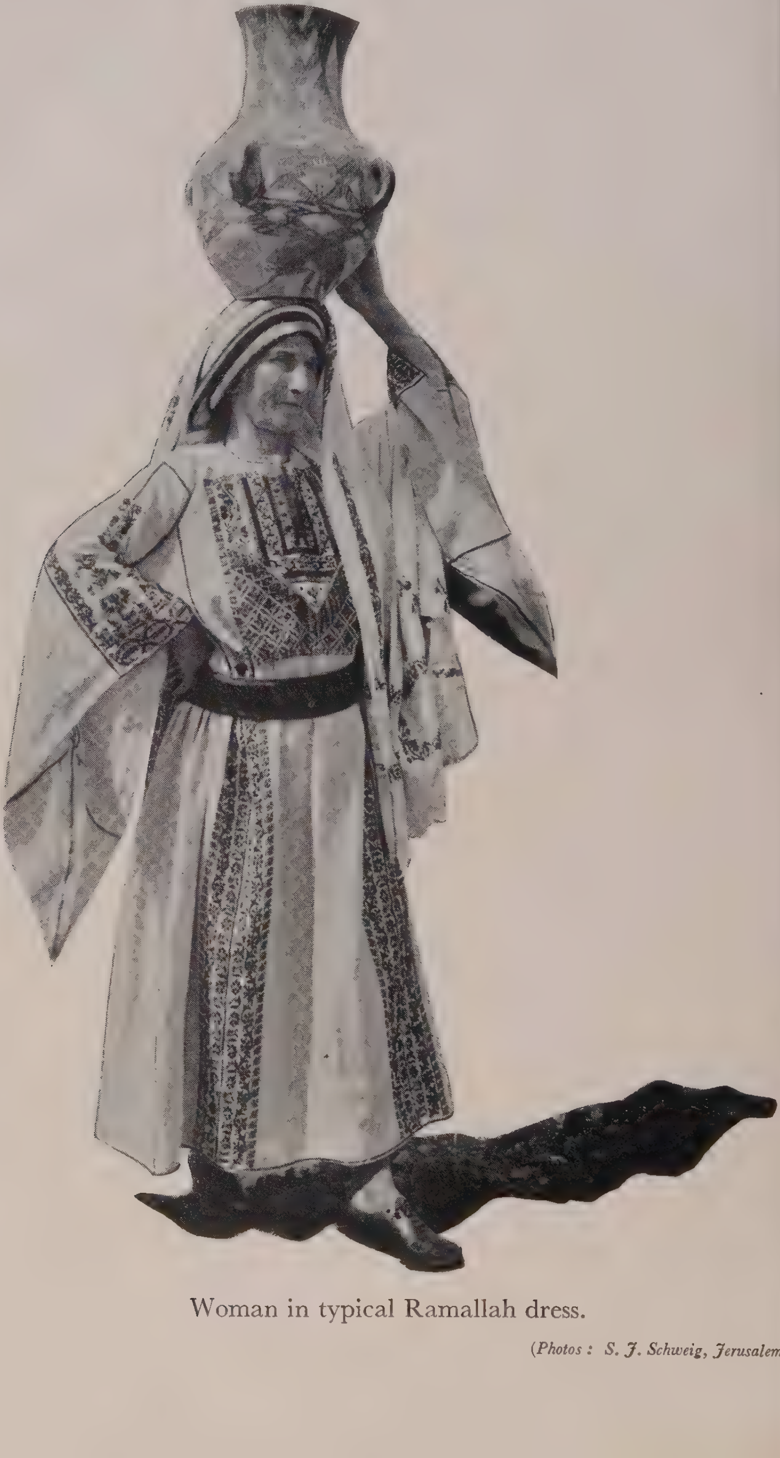
The women of the Hassid community wear no distincti dress.

The leader of the Hassids or Zadik as he is called, chan the prayer at the Wailing wall.

> *Leader* : For the Temple that is destroyed,
>
> *Chorus* : We sit in solitude and mourn . . . .

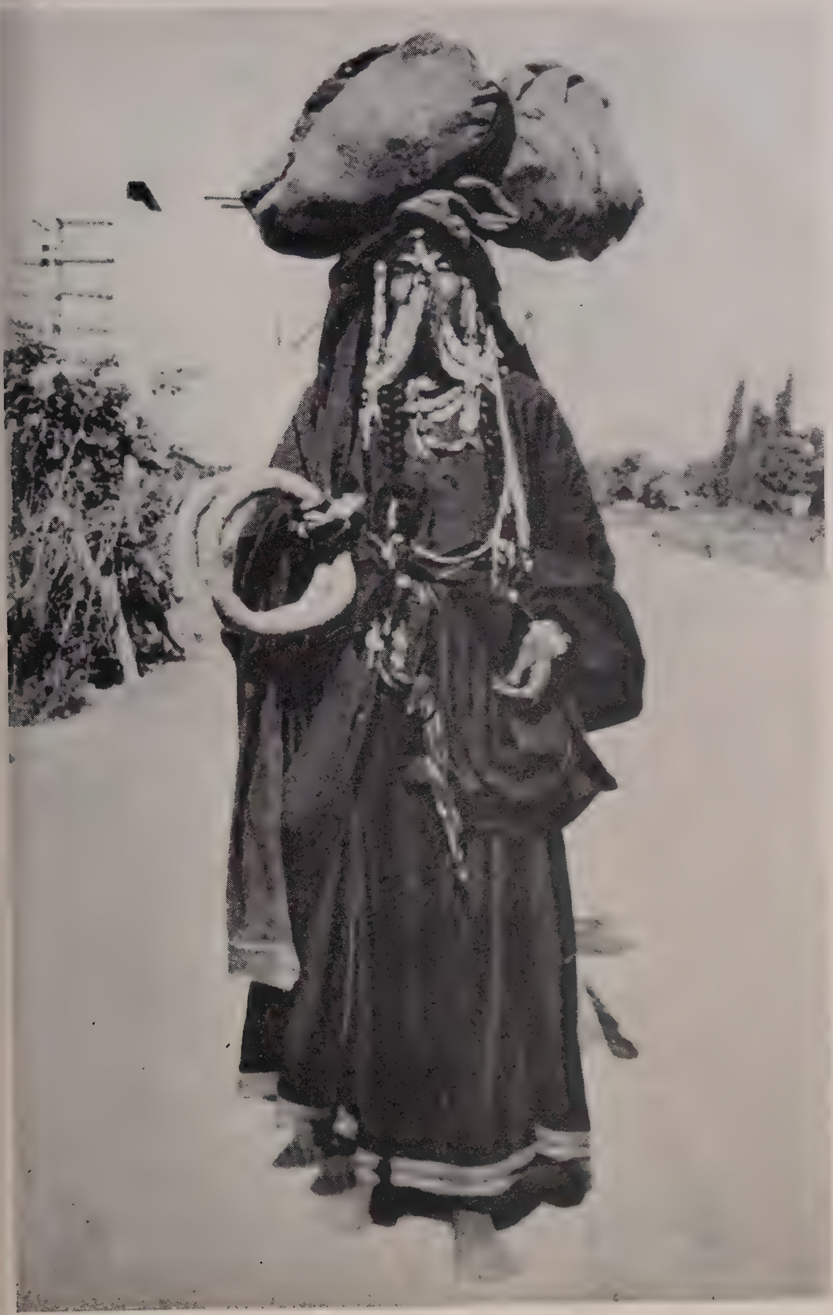


Bethelehem women.

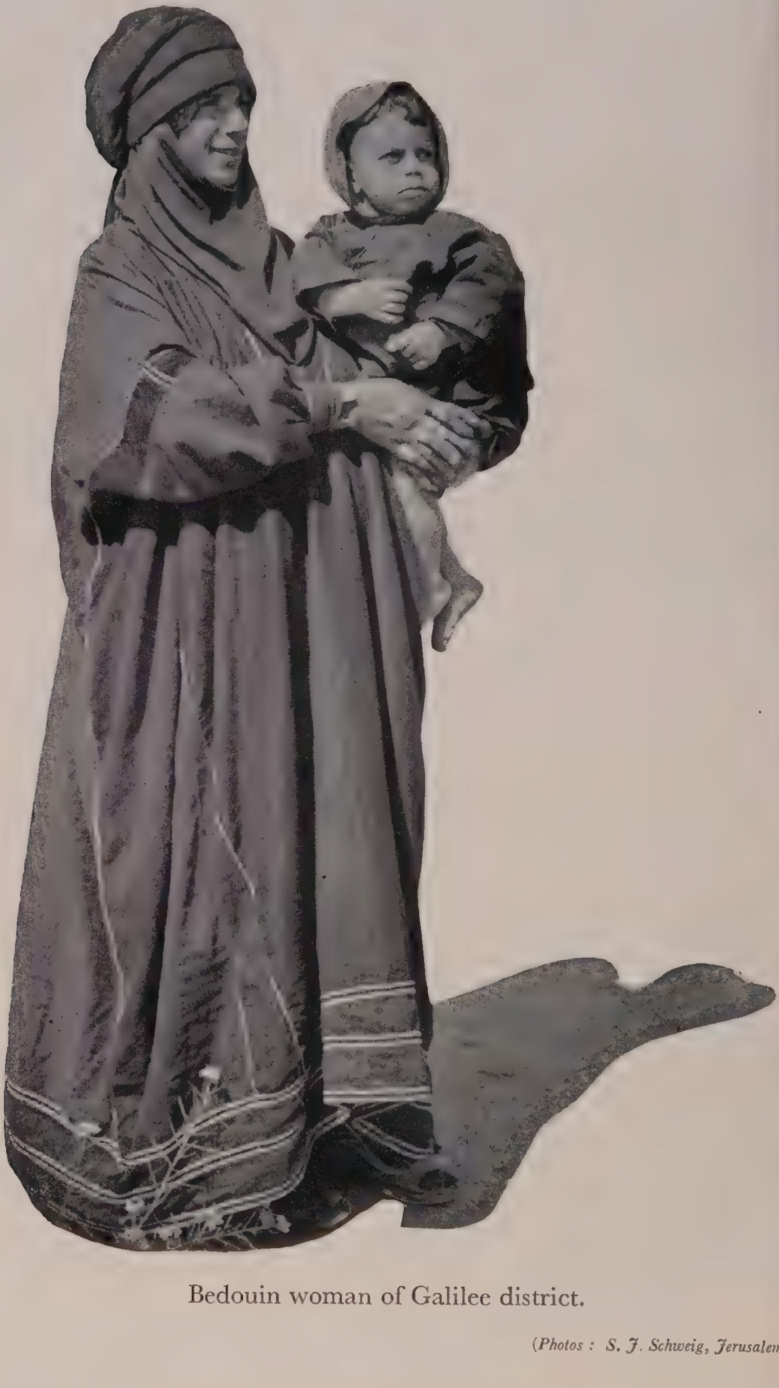


Woman in typical Ramallah dress.

(Photos : S. J. Schweig, Jerusalem)



Gaza woman.



Bedouin woman of Galilee district.

(Photos : S. J. Schweig, Jerusalem)

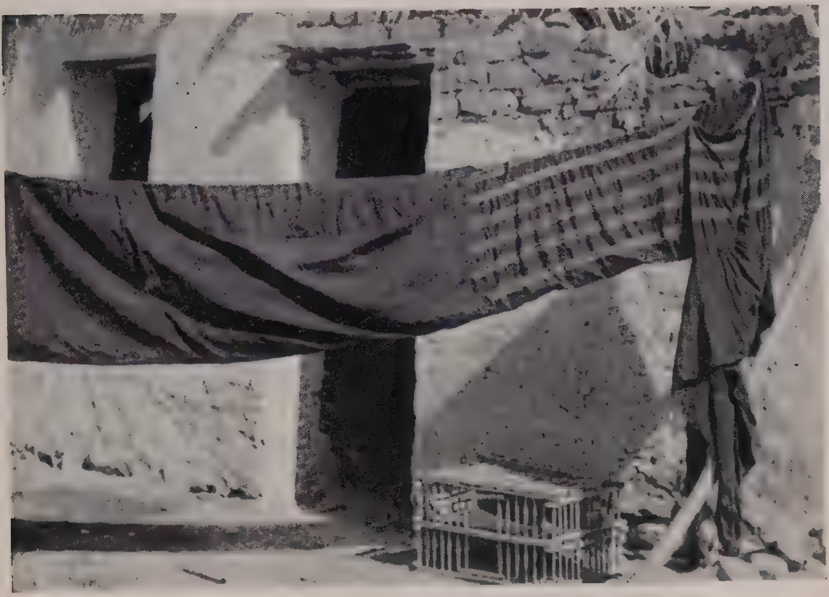


Fig. 1. Women's dress of Jericho.

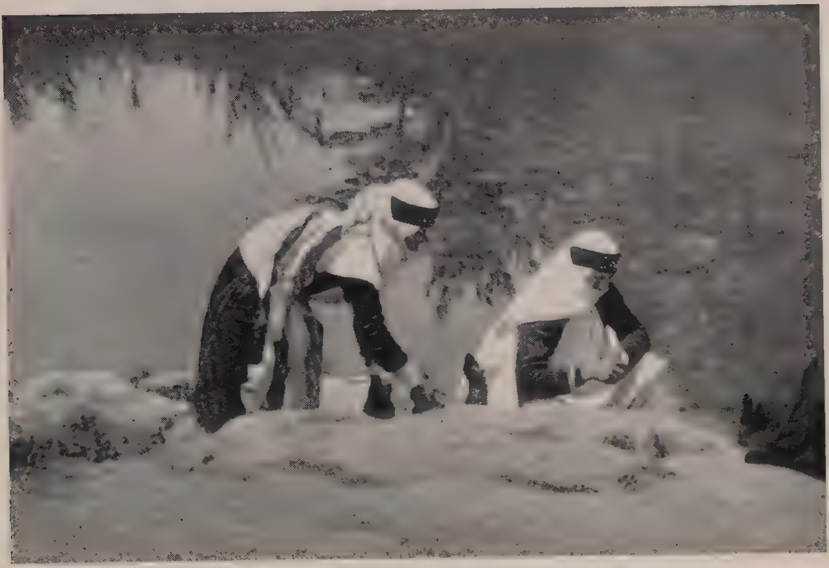
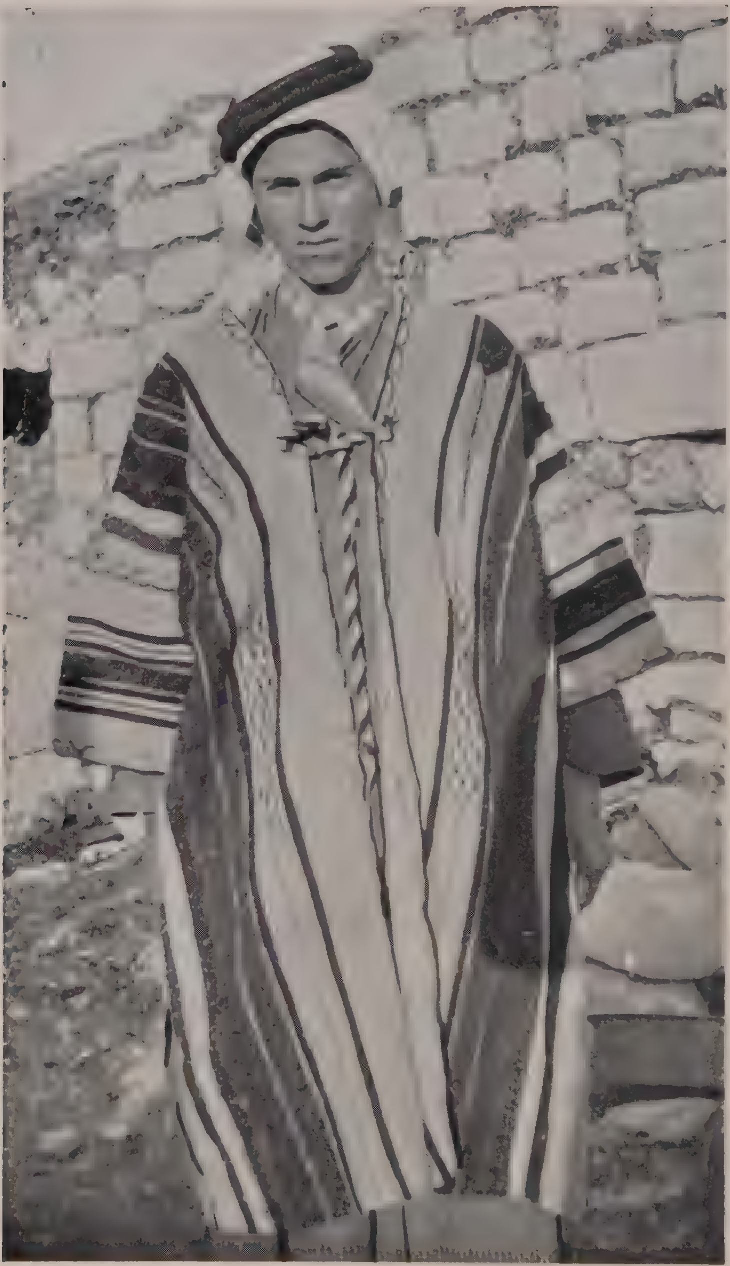
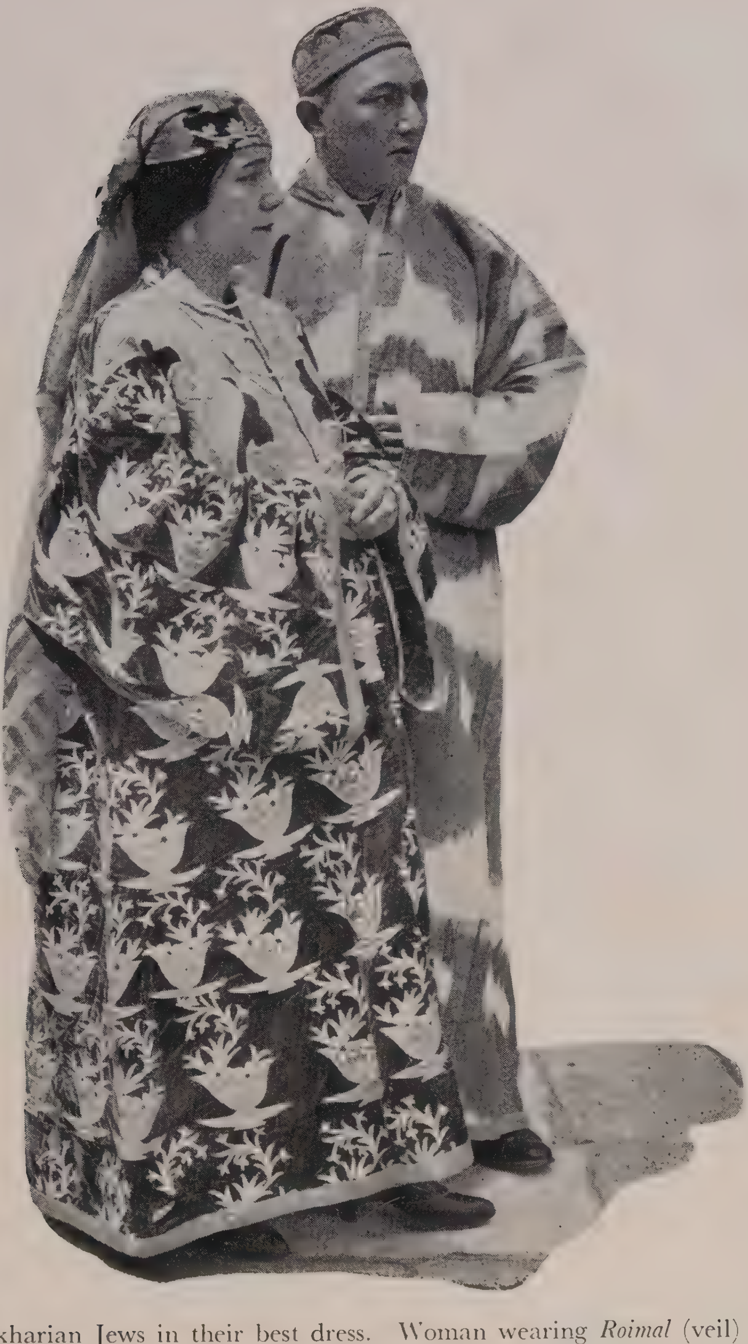


Fig. 2. Druze ladies (El-Hammeh).



Nablus bisht ; woven and worn in Nablus district.



Bokharian Jews in their best dress. Woman wearing *Roimal* (veil) and *kurta* (dress). Man wearing *djoma* (dress) and *kalpus* (cap).

(Photos : S. J. Schewig, Jerusalem)

THE CAVE OF MACHPELAH

By C. F. Arden-Close

We read in the book of Numbers that Hebron " was built
ven years before Zoan (i.e., Tanis) in Egypt,"[1] and the
ole of the 23rd Chapter of Genesis is concerned with the
ath of Sarah " in Kirjath-arba (the same is Hebron) ", and
e purchase by Abraham of the Cave of Machpelah, in the
ld of Ephron, the son of Zohar the Hittite, which is before
amre. " Abraham buried Sarah his wife in the cave of the
ld of Machpelah before Mamre (the same is Hebron)."
ere also, according to Genesis, were buried Abraham him-
lf, Isaac and Rebekah, Leah and Jacob.

Some seventy years ago Conder said, " There seems no
ason to doubt the genuine character of the site now
rrounded by the Haram, and we have that valuable consent
traditions, Jewish, Christian and Moslem, which seems to
istinguish the true sites."[2]

Nowadays Hebron is a rather undistinguished-looking
wn, in a small, narrow valley, running generally north and
uth, about twenty miles south of Jerusalem. It is on the
ain central ridge of high ground of Palestine, and is some
hree thousand feet above the Mediterranean and well over
ur thousand feet above the Dead Sea, which is only about
ighteen miles to the east. It has, or had, a certain amount of
rade with the Arabs of the south. The rather picturesque
ultan's Pool, a large, well-built reservoir, would, apart from
he Haram, perhaps be the only feature to attract the
ttention of pilgrim or casual visitor. But the Haram, that
s the enclosure over the cave, and the cave itself, come into
he category of the world's most famous ancient sites, in one
f the most ancient of still existing cities.

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[1] Num., XIII, 22.

[2] *Tent Work in Palestine*, Vol. II, p. 80.

As to the Haram, it has only been on very rare occasi that distinguished travellers have been allowed by the Mosl authorities to enter the enclosure—but never the cave—a the ordinary visitor to Hebron must be content with a v of the great surrounding wall from the outside. In 1882 Prin Albert Victor and Prince George, afterwards King George accompanied by Canon Dalton, Conder and Sir Char Wilson, visited the Haram, and by special permission of Sultan entered and inspected the mosque. In the pavem are three movable slabs; through the openings covered these access can be had to different portions of the ca underneath. On this occasion a light was let down into o of these entrances and the rocky sides were seen and a do way leading out of this small chamber into the larger ca itself. But the party did not descend into any part of the ca

Conder says that one curious story was told him: " Wh Ibrahim Pacha threatened the town the inhabitants carri their property to the cave for safety. If this be true the ar must be considerable ".

For understanding the story of Abraham we could ha no better instructor than Professor S. H. Hooke. Under h guidance we need not give up the idea of the one-tim existence of the patriarch, though we must treat the narrativ in Genesis as saga rather than history. " The saga is primar a story, transmitted orally from generation to generatio which preserves memories of the wanderings and adventur of clans or tribes, or of the exploits of heroes belonging such groups."[1] Professor Sidney Smith describes Abraha as " a typical nomad, he is able to wander from one pla to the other; possessed of great flocks, he avoids the crowd industrial areas whose religion and civilization he regar with horror . . . he intervenes in great wars and is able force his presence upon the local princes of Palestine." discussion, by Professor Hooke, in the Clarendon Bible, resul in " a date for Abraham between 1700 and 1600 B.C. at th earliest," let us say, about the time of the erection of the grea stones of Stonehenge.

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[1] *The Clarendon Bible*, Vol. VI, p. 59.

We all know the graphic account in Genesis of the urchase, by Abraham, from Ephron the Hittite, of the field nd the cave of Machpelah, for four hundred shekels of lver. “ The details of the sale conform accurately to the chnical style of the numerous Babylonian and Assyrian ontract tablets which have been discovered in the course of xcavating many Mesopotamian sites.” But there is a ifficulty, apparently, in “ the mention of Hittites as occupyng Hebron in the time of Abraham ”, and this point is iscussed in the work mentioned. But we need not pursue his particular matter.

Archaeologists agree that the existing great surrounding all of the Haram el-Khalil was probably built to the order f Herod the Great (73–4 B.C.), that great builder who estored the temple of Jerusalem, and there is little doubt that he wall did enclose the site of the primitive cave. The nclosure is rectangular and is some 194 feet long by 108 feet road, figures which may serve to give an idea of the extreme imensions of the cave. “ There is evidence of the unmistakbly Herodian drafted masonry of the great Haram at Hebron.”[2] The enclosure runs, almost exactly, south-east nd north-west. Conder remarks that “ Josephus speaks of monuments of the Patriarchs as existing in his day, but is ilent as to the enclosure.”[2]

There are a few records of visits to the site during the Dark and Middle Ages. Thus, the *Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society*, in its publication of 1887, contains this account of a visit by Placentinus (Placentia is Piacenza) between 560 and 570 A.D. This Pilgrim says: “ From Bethlehem to the oak of Mamre is twenty-three miles. At this place lie buried Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and Sarah, and there are also the bones of Joseph. There is a basilica built with four porticoes; in the midst is an atrium without any roof; a partition runs across it, and on one side enter Christians, and on the other Jews, and burn much incense. The burial of Jacob in that place is celebrated with great devotion by all on

[1] *The Archaeology of Palestine* by Prof. Albright. Pelican Series, p. 156.

[2] *Tent Work in Palestine*, Vol. II, p. 81.

the first day after Christmas; so that from all the land of t
Jews an innumerable multitude collect together, beari
incense or lights, and bestowing gifts upon those who minist
in the church."

The chief interest of this quotation is that it is the la
account of the place which we possess before the Mosle
conquest of Palestine. As to the Pilgrim's distance of
" miles " from Bethlehem to Mamre, that happens to
about the distance in kilometres.

In *Antiquity* for September, 1950, Mr. A. M. Schneid
remarks that Anonymus Placentinus visited Hebron in 5
" and left a description more naïve than lucid." He dea
with two versions of the description and says that " no o
was able to get a clear idea of the facts." " In Hebron th
pilgrim found the temenos by Herod I above the tombs
the patriarchs, a walled-in square of 60 by 33 metres, th
walls of which are still standing to-day to a height of abo
10 metres. Of this classical type of architecture the simp
pilgrim had no more idea than had the Anonymus of Petr
Diaconus who described it as *ecclesia sine tecto.*"

In the *Palestine Exploration Fund* Quarterly Statement
January, 1924, there is a review by the late Dr. E. W. (
Masterman, who was for long the Hon. Secretary of the Fun
of the monumental work on the Haram el Khalil, by Pè
Vincent and Capt. Mackay. Dr. Masterman wrote: " The
are at various periods many accounts of visits to the Mosq
itself, but few to the substructures. Of these last the mo
complete is one given here of a visit made by the monks
the Priory in 1119, from *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* . .
It is narrated that the monks, making entrance through th
Cenotaph of Isaac, entered a grotto, from which after fo
days' hard work, they forced their way into a second grott
containing a sarcophagus. From this they entered the mai
chamber, and in an adjoining grotto found the remains
two bodies, which they surmised were those of Abraham an
Isaac. Other bones they ascribed to Jacob, besides whic
they discovered some fifteen vessels fitted with bones. The
human remains were washed with wine and water, and aft

eing venerated by the pious, they were presumably re- terred. They are apparently the bones seen here half a ntury later by Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, who mentions tubs filled with the bones of Israelites." But there was no ositive evidence by which any of the bodies could be lentified. . . ."

Dr. Masterman also pointed out that a Byzantine church as built over the site "but during the time of the later ingdom of Jerusalem this was entirely reconstructed, and a rger building, very similar to the great church—now mosque, t Gaza, took its place. This in time was remodelled, some- hat incompletely, to the type of the older mosques at Cairo. his alteration was carried out in 1331–32." All this inside he great enclosing walls of Herod. We have, therefore, over he site of the cave, the great enclosure of Herod, remains of Byzantine church, a European medieval church converted nto a mosque, and some subsidiary buildings.

By far the most important book which has been written n the subject of the Cave of Machpelah is the imposing folio y Père Vincent and Captain Mackay, accompanied by xcellent photographs and plans. This valuable work is ntitled HÉBRON. *Le Haram El-Khalil, Sepulture des Patriarches.*[1] Even after the 1914–18 War, "La caverne sacrée, dont une terreur superstitieuse parait écarter les musulmans eux mêmes, demeure scellée dans son mystère; la mosquée n'est cependant plus inaccessible."

It was in the last months of 1919 that it was found possible to realize the project of a systematic study of the buildings. By order of the British G.H.Q. Captain Mackay, of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine, was directed to carry out an architectural and archaeological survey of the Haram el Khalil, and he asked Père Vincent to join him in the work, which had to be completed in the short space of one week. The work began on the 26th January, 1920, and was pursued without interruption until the 2nd February. The cave was excluded from their task. Thanks to this action of the British Headquarters, and to the way in which the opportunity was seized by Père Vincent and Captain Mackay, we now have complete account and measured plans of all the structur above ground, inside the great wall, and, briefly, these a the results.

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[1] Paris. Edition Ernest Leroux, 1923, pp. 256.

Inside the great wall there is a space about ninety fe broad and twice as long, and, as said before, it runs almo exactly north-west and south-east. The south-eastern portio is occupied by the Crusader's church, now rearranged as mosque. The church occupies the full breadth of the enclosur and about seventy-five feet of its length. Across the north western end there is a Byzantine wall. The church, now mosque, has a ribbed vaulted roof. In the mosque, now, ar the Moslem cenotaphs of Isaac and Rebecca. We do no know what relation these may bear to anything in the cav below.

On the other side of the Byzantine wall there are the Mosle cenotaphs of Abraham and Sarah, and, a little further o we come to an open Court, about thirty feet by seventy; thi is, no doubt, the *atrium sine tecto*. Beyond this again, under vaulted structure, we find the Moslem cenotaphs of Jacob an Leah. Thanks to the work of Père Vincent and Captai Mackay we have accurate plans of the structures built abov the cave.

And now for the cave itself. We may reasonably assum that the cave does not extend beyond the walls built b Herod, and perhaps we may conjecture that it may no extend much beyond the limits of the Christian church, bu this is uncertain. What is certain is that there are know to be three openings, from the floor of the church, down int the cave. Starting from the south-eastern end, there is on ancient opening (I) close to the wall; this is now permanentl sealed up. Then, some sixty feet to the north-west, there i another opening, still in use, close to the Byzantine wall; le us call this the opening (J). And then, close to (J), there is way down into the cave, the other side of the Byzantine wal and close under it.

Let us deal first with opening (J). It was through this opening that the Princes, on their visit in 1882, were allowed limpse of the dark interior; a lamp was let down and they v the rough walls of part of the cave and, not far away, a orway leading out of the small chamber into another part the cave.

Père Vincent and Captain Mackey, in 1920, were also le to look down through opening (J) under the not too endly eyes of the guardians of the mosque. They found at the thickness of the rocky roof of the cave, under the arble pavement, to be about 4 feet, and the depth of the vity to be some 9 or 10 feet, or about 13 feet under the or of the mosque. But the heaps of written petitions and ferings on the floor of the cave may considerably diminish e depth. They also saw the low small door towards the uth.

Père Vincent sums up, that the situation of the two enings (I and J) shows without doubt that the length of the ve is at least equal to the N.W.–S.E. length of the church, ut gives no information as to its breadth. But this impression somewhat weakened by the symmetrical and extended ositions of the Moslem cenotaphs, perhaps too symmetrical give any guidance as to the actual burial places.

There is one more important piece of evidence with regard a small portion of the cave, and this is the report of an ctual entry into the cave in 1917. Conder, in 1878, said “ it eems very doubtful if any living being has ever descended nto the mysterious cavern beneath the floor since the Moslem onquest of Palestine.” But this statement requires amendment, for the Crusaders, who built the church, certainly did escend into the cave, and after the Moslem reconquest, ere is no doubt that adherents to that religion did occasionally enter. But, now, after a period of, say, 700 years, a on-Moslem did actually enter. Here is the story, mainly aken from the Père Vincent's account.

Towards the end of November, 1917, when General Allenby's victorious offensive was nearing Jerusalem, a small ccupying force was detached to Hebron, with Colonel R. Meinertzhagen as political officer. He reached the ancient ity and made enquiries as to whom to deal with, and was directed towards the Haram, where, he was informed, t notables had sought refuge. All the doors of the sanctua were open, and he entered the mosque, and saw t cenotaphs. He entered the small structure of the cenotaph Abraham and noticed at the base of the wall to the south-e a half-open door. It was scarcely four feet high and opened to a rocky downward-leading slope. He managed to get dov this slope and found himself in a subterranean chamb measuring, perhaps, six or seven yards a side. The roc floor showed some cracks; the irregular walls seemed cover with a copious layer of dirt and smoke, and, in fact, everythi looked dirty and neglected. Towards one end of the chamb he noted a large block of stone, measuring, roughly, six by thr feet, with a height of less than three feet, the sides and top bei smoked and fouled as if by liquid libations or the burning incense. There were four small columns, with spiral groov at the corners of the stone; the small columns had no ba or capital. The hour was not propitious for investigation, a Colonel Meinertzhagen did not realize his singular goo fortune in having penetrated into part of the mysterious cav He quickly climbed back into the light of day.

Here is another account:[1] Colonel Meinertzhagen, arriving at Hebron tried to get into touch with the elders the city. Eventually he found a Jew who told him that “ t city notables were hiding in the mosque, so thither he co ducted me but refused to pass beyond the entrance.” H says, “ I walked in and found the building apparent deserted. Passing up a passage in the massive building entered a court (evidently by the N.E. entrance) and on t left was a mosque vulgarly decorated with the usual ornamen . . . finding nobody about I shouted out and thinking heard voices through an iron grid floor-door, I pulled it bac and passed down a stone staircase into a chamber which w pitch dark. Having only matches I could see little, but l lighting match after match I search all round for peopl finding nothing but a stone coffin with spiral columns at eac corner, all in stone. I sat on the coffin, lit my pipe, but w oon driven out by the unventilated atmosphere." Colonel Meinertzhagen remembers that there were some men, ncluding the mufti, in the underground chamber.

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[1] *The Bible is True.* By Sir C. Marston, 1936, p. 139.

Afterwards, in 1920, he came to Hebron whilst Père Vincent and Captain Mackay were measuring and examining he Haram, and was able to point out the position of the opening through which he descended. This was close to the S.E. wall of the cenotaph of Abraham.

The block of stone with its small columns, otherwise the stone "coffin," was readily identified by Père Vincent as the incomplete and damaged elements of a (Christian) mediaeval cenotaph, of a type well known; the upper covering had been taken away, no doubt by the Moslem masters of the sanctuary.

If we put these small pieces of evidence together we get this picture. Under the floor of the church, at its north-western end, there is a chamber of the cave which has been entered and of which glimpses can be obtained through an opening in the pavement. This chamber may measure some twenty feet square. At its south-eastern end there is a door, which doubtless leads to a larger part of the cave. The chamber contains a stone structure, and this is what remains of a mediaeval cenotaph of the same age as the church. If the total length of the whole cavern is covered by the church, the cavern, in all its parts, would be some seventy feet long. But if Herod's wall is to be taken as just enclosing the cavern, the latter would be much larger; this may be the case; similar caves are to be found in the neighbourhood.

Père Vincent writes: "Qand on a longuement peiné à scruter par bribes les menus détails qui rendent le Haram el-Khalil intelligible et qu'une enquête de quelques heures dans la caverne éclaircirait sans doute beaucoup mieux, le fanatisme intolérant qui invoque des supercheries religieuses pour interdire l'accès, pourtant si simple, de cette caverne, prend un caractère spécialement odieux."[1]

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[1] *Le Haram El-Khalil.* Vincent & Mackay. Paris. Edition Ernest Leroux. 1923. p. 66.

Mt. xxvii, 46 IN THE LIGHT OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLL OF ISAIAH

By A. Guillaume

In Mt. xxvii, 46 we read : " And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice saying *Eli Eli lama sabachthani* " that is, " My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me ? " And some of them that stood there when they heard it said " This man calleth Elijah." In the parallel passage in Mk. xv, 34 the only difference is that the divine name is invoked in the form *Eloi.*

It has long been obvious that the form *Eloi* cannot be right because it could not be mistaken for Elijah in speech, and thus we are forced to conclude that the first gospel, and not the second which is more primitive, has preserved the actual words used. With the use of the Aramaic word *shebaq* instead of the Hebrew '*azab* in Psalm xxii we are not concerned ; but rather with the reason for mistaking *Eli* for Elīya—to write the word as it is sounded in Hebrew. Almost all commentators[1] have felt a difficulty in accounting for the misunderstanding, and though it is well known that the prophet Elijah was invoked in times of danger, difficulty, and peril, by pious Jews at this time[2] that does not account for the missing final syllable.

It has always been supposed that the first person singular nominal suffix in Hebrew was *ī* ; but it is now plain that the Hebrew of the second century B.C. still retained the ancient Semitic suffix of the first person in *iya.*[3] Evidently it was dying out for though the syllable *ya* was normally attached to the particles *kī* and *bī* in the majority of instances the first erson singular suffix was written in the Scroll as it is in the M.T. Nevertheless the ancient and longer form was ometimes retained ; among the most striking of the examples I have collected is Isaiah; xlv 23 : *biyā nishba ʿtī yasā mipiyā daqa dabhar welō yashūb. kiyā liyā tikraʿ kōl bōrek watishshabhaʿ ōl lashōn*; and lxv, 19 : *wagaltī biyrushalayim wasasti be mmiyā.* In the same verse a form *iyā* and a form *ī* may be ound as in lxv, 22 : *kiyā kimey ʿes yamey ʿammiyā wama ʿaseh dayhimāh yebhallū bahīrai.* (The same vacillation between he light and heavy form of suffix is to be noticed in some manuscripts and editions of the Quran.)

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[1] Cf. Cuthbert Turner, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, p. 118 (*S.P.C.K.*).

[2] Strack-Billerbeck, Exk. über Elias I, 3, in *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament.*

[3] Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, I. 307.

Now, lest it be thought that this oldest of all biblical manuscripts[1] merely represents the orthographical caprices f its writer and is no trustworthy witness to the actual *ronunciation* of the text, attention must be called to the abbinic interpretation of the particle of entreaty *bī.* The normal *bī* of M.T., as we have seen, is always written biyā n the scroll, and though the interjection is not used in Isaiah ts homonym is. The midrashic comment on Gen. xliv, 18 *bī adonī* is *biyā atta ma ʿabhīr ʿalaynu*, i.e., “ you are doing us an njustice my lord.” The word as Levy and Jastrow in their exicons point out is derived from *βία* and is said by the atter to be a play on *bī.* Had he known of our scroll he would have said *biyā.* In fact it is as pointless to make *bī* the equivalent of *biyā* as it is to treat Eli as the equal of Elīya. The Dead Sea scroll proves that the ejaculation “ My God ” could be Eliya (and not Elī as has hitherto been supposed) and in spite of the Greek text of the New Testament (which has been brought into line with the later pronunciation of Hebrew), the New Testament shows that it was.

So far as I can recollect only one survival of this ancient form of the first person singular suffix has been allowed to

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[1] I agree with Albright, *BASOR*, 1950, 6, that “ it is true that there are a few recent writers who have denied the authenticity and antiquity of the Scrolls, but their arguments are without merit and have been rejected by all competent students who have come to the subject with sufficient background and who have kept themselves fully informed of the progress of discovery and research.”

remain in the Massoretic text, and there it has been di
membered, and given a meaning which it cannot bea
The phrase occurs in three contexts : Ex. xv, 2 ; Is. xii, 2
and Ps. cxviii, 14, *'ozzī wazimrath yāh.* For this our scro
gives us 'ōzi wazimrathiyah. The *hē* was left out in th
first instance and was added above the line. Here it is
be noted that the letter of prolongation is not *alef* as in th
passages quoted above but *hē*, and this, too, after the scrib
has written *kiyā* with *alef.* Such renderings as " My streng
and a song is Yah " are ruled out by the parallel passage i
Is. xii, 2 'ōzi wazimrathiyā Yahweh which clearly mu
mean either " My strength and my might is Yahweh "
" My Refuge and my protection is Yahweh " according
the roots which are presumed to underlie the nouns. Th
context in the Song of Moses would seem to favour the forme
While we were ignorant of the existence of this ancient suff
in Hebrew it was usual to read *zimrathī* as Kittel does in th
face of Is. xii, 2 ; but now it is clear that 'ozzī wazimrathiy
are in apposition with laYahweh in verse 1, and there
no room for the Yah of M.T.

JEREMIAH AND THE LAST TWO KINGS OF JUDAH

BY A. MALAMAT

IN the spring of 598 B.C., the young king of Judah, ehoiachin, was exiled to Babylonia, together with his court, fter having reigned for only three months. In his place ebuchadnezzar enthroned his uncle Mattaniah, called enceforth Zedekiah. The duties thrown upon the new king ere not slight; for a whole decade Zedekiah struggled for the xistence of his kingdom since peace and order were continually disturbed. The exile of thousands of its foremost itizens caused the social economic anarchy which prevailed hen, and prepared the ground for the ascent of various olitical adventurers.

In the Bible we have insufficient information on the fate f Jehoiachin in his exile. The Biblical historiographer tells s only that in the thirty-seventh year of his exile Jehoiachin vas freed from his confinement by Evil-Merodach, the uccessor to Nebuchadnezzar's throne, and was even awarded reat honours.

The theory advanced recently that Jehoiachin in reality etained the status of king of Judah even after his exile and hat he was perhaps held by the Babylonians as a threat gainst Zedekiah, has been suprisingly verified by additional pigraphic material, lately discovered in the Palace of Nebuchadnezzar in Babylonia. The material was published by Weidner on the eve of the outbreak of the second World War.[1] These tablets not only reveal to us a very interesting portrayal of the honourable status of Jehoiachin and his household in Nebuchadnezzar's Court, which was similar to the status of other exile-kings, but Jehoiachin is expressedly termed in these tablets by the formal title " King of the Lan of Judah ".

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[1] E. F. Weidner, *Jojachin–König von Juda in babylonischen Keilschrifttexten*, *Mélanges Syriens offerts a M. René Dussaud*, Vol. II, 1939, pp. 923–935.

Additional evidence for defining the status of Jehoiachi in his exile might also be drawn from the seal imprints c jar handles found in Tell-Beit-Mirsim and Beth-Shemesh These imprints read: " To Eliakim, steward of Yaukin " (th name Yaukin is surely the abridged form of Jehoiachin) fro which we may learn, as was assumed by Albright, tha Jehoiachin kept an administration in Judah to take care of his royal property during his stay in Babylonia.[1] It is als possible that we may have grounds for the special status Jehoiachin even after the period of Zedekiah, on two mo seals which were discussed by H. G. May.[2] If these seals c seal impressions, the first: " To Ya-azaniah, servant of th king " (found in Tell-en-Nasbeh) and the second: " Gedalia who was over the house " (assuming of course that th reading of the seal impression from Tell-ed-Duweir is correc really belong to the time of Gedaliah,[3] son of Ahikam, the the same Gedaliah was certainly the Regent of Jehoachin

Evidently, this duality in the status of the monarch (Zedekiah in Jerusalem and Jehoiachin in exile) made itse strongly felt in Judah itself, dividing the Judeans into tw opposite camps: one of which continued to see in Jehoiachi the king "de jure" even after he was exiled; these undoubtedly strongly desired his return. The others were ready to submit to and to accept as lawful the rule of Zedekiah, the adherent of the Chaldean king. The first group apparently identified itself with that part of the nation which strove for national deliverance from the yoke of Babylonia and tended therefore to a positive orientation towards Egypt, while the followers of Zedekiah who indeed gradually diminished in numbers sought support for the nation in Babylonian rule.

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[1] W. F. Albright, *The Seal of Eliakim and the Latest Preexilic History Judah, etc.* (JBL), 1932, pp. 77–106; *King Joiachin in Exile* (BA V, No. 4 1942.

[2] H. G. May, *Three Hebrew Seals and the Status of Exiled Jehoiak* (AJSL), 1939, pp. 146–148.

[3] See now : McCown, *Tell en-Nasbeh*, Vol. I, p. 163.

[4] We know besides of other similar circumstances in the time Nebuchadnezzar of enthroning a vassal in place of an exiled king wh nevertheless continues to be the legal ruler. So when Tyre was capture in 574 B.C. a regent named Baal was appointed instead of the exile Itobaal. (*cf.* R. Pietschmann, *Geschichte der Phoenizier*, 1889, p. 306).

Perhaps that was the situation also in the case of the kingdoms Sidon, Arwad, Asdod and Gaza (*cf.* Unger (ThLZ), 1925, p. 481 ff (ZAW), 1926, p. 317 ff.), and possibly even in the case of Ashkelo (*cf.* the Aramaic Saqqarah Papyrus published by Dupont-Somme *Semitica* I, 1948; and also the writer's remarks on the above Papyrus i *BJPES*, XV, 1–2, 1949, pp. 33–39).

The stand of Jeremiah in this internal controversy was unquestionably clear: he was the sworn enemy of Egypt. It is of interest, however, to scrutinize the Prophet's view on the question of legitimacy in the Judean monarchy. This angle of the problem has hitherto not been particularly investigated.

Jeremiah's viewpoint on the above dispute was given expression in his ideological discussion with the false prophets during the fourth year of Zedekiah's reign. The outline of opinion of the false prophets is revealed to us on this occasion by one of their prominent spokesmen Hananiah, son of Azur, the prophet from Gibeon, in the following words: "Thus speaketh the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, saying, I have broken the yoke of the king of Babylon. Within two full years will I bring again into this place all the vessels of the Lord's house that Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon took away from this place, and carried them to Babylon. And I will bring again to this place Jechoniah the son of Jehoiakim king of Judah, with all the captives of Judah, that went into Babylon," etc. (Jer. XXVIII, 2–4).

Jeremiah's opinion of this prophetic declaration is clearly understood from his reaction in response to it. "Amen the Lord do so, the Lord perform thy words which thou hast prophesied to bring again the vessels of the Lord's house and all that is carried away captive, from Babylon into this place", etc. (ib., vs. 6). It might be assumed from this that Jeremiah was inclined to consent to this assertion by his disputant, although it completely opposes his own prophetic tradition, as is clearly understood from what follows in the discussion.

However, it is clear that Jeremiah disagrees with th political programme of his opponents on one point, and tha is, on the question of the royal succession. While the fals prophet is hostile to the rule of Zedekiah and categoricall demands the return of Jehoiachin to the throne, as an integra part of his party's political platform, Jeremiah intentionall skips over this problem.

The prophet's silence on this detail is more significan than appears at first. That *this* is not a mere coincidence i proved by the prophecy that Jeremiah devotes to Jehoiachin The sacred oath at the opening of Jeremiah's words on th forlorn king leaves no room for misunderstanding. " As I liv saith the Lord, though Coniah (Jehoiachin) the son Jehoiakim, king of Judah were the signet upon my righ hand, yet would I pluck thee thence " (Jer. XXII, 24). H disinclination to leave the rulership of the country i Jehoachin's power is defined most distinctly, for it is th prophet's opinion that the legality of this power expired wit the exile. The consequence of this prophetic thought require however, a more general far reaching conclusion, by whic the prophet winds up the above matter: " Thus saith th Lord, write ye this man childless, a man that shall not prosp in his days; for no man of his seed shall prosper, sitting upo the throne of David, and ruling any more in Judah " (ib vs. 30).

Entirely baseless is the opinion of those commentator ancient as well as modern, who attempt to conclude from th above sentences that at the time of his exile Jehoiachin wa childless and that his sons were born at the time of his releas from prison thirty-seven years later. One of Weidner's abov mentioned tablets of the year 592 B.C., mentions distinctl five sons of Jehoiachin and there is no logical necessity to fi the date of their birth after the exile.

The above cited prophetic assertion was apparentl intended not only to disqualify Jehoiachin himself fro kingship, but to exclude his entire posterity.

When, after some decades, one of his descendants wa chosen nevertheless as the nation's ruler, this ancient prophec s intentionally referred to again, just to annul it. Thus ere the words of Haggai to Zerubbabel: “ In that day, saith e Lord of hosts, will I take thee, O Zerubbabel, my servant, e son of Shealtiel, saith the Lord, and will make thee as a gnet: for I have chosen thee, saith the Lord of hosts.” aggai II, 23.)

Moreover, Jeremiah set the illegitimacy of Jehoiachin as ng on a more secure foundation by denying the right of ccession to all the descendants of Jehoiakim, his father: Therefore thus saith the Lord of Jehoiakim king of Judah, e shall have none to sit upon the throne of David ”, etc. er. XXXVI, 30.) The conclusion of Jeremiah as to the egitimacy of the rule between the two exiles is unambig- ous.

It remains for us then to clarify the other side of the oblem, to prove the authorization of Zedekiah’s rule by is prophet. There is no need of much argument here as e attitude of Jeremiah toward Zedekiah is well known to ave been constantly sympathetic though he often reproved e king severely. Even during the bitter critical days, when e Babylonian was besieging the capital and only Lachish nd Azekah were holding their own against the enemy, he mained faithful to Zedekiah, revealing to him the path to lvation if only he would repent: “ Yet hear the word of the ord, O Zedekiah king of Judah. Thus saith the Lord of ee, Thou shalt not die by the sword; but thou shalt die peace: and with the burnings of thy fathers, the former ings which were before thee, so shall they burn odours for ee, and they will lament thee saying Ah Lord ”, etc. er. XXXIV, 4–5.) These words are of greater importance we consider that in the prophet’s vision of a king’s final te is expressed the essence of his opinion on the king’s haracter. Thus Jehoiakim was condemned by him to an Ass’s Burial ” and was not to be lamented honourably with xclamations: “ הוי אדון ” (Ah Lord’) as Zedekiah deserved. ndeed, the tragic personality of this last king of David’s ouse was never forsaken by the prophet even at the most rucial moments.

For further clarification of this point let us once mo
reflect upon the words dedicated by the prophet to the visi
of the Messianic King in Chapter XXIII:

“ Behold, the days came, saith the Lord that I will ra
unto David a righteous Branch and a King shall reign a
prosper and shall execute judgement and justice in the ear
In his days Judah shall be saved and Israel shall dwell safe
and this is the name whereby he shall be called, The Lo
our Righteousness.” (Jer. XXIII, 5–6.)[1] Justly have so
scholars pointed out the fact that the historical connecti
between this delineation of the Messiah and the personality
King Zedekiah cannot be overlooked.[2]

The problem arises here of how to explain this fact.
seems to me that we are bound to search for a soluti
differing from the one proposed by various scholars. Jeremi
probably does not refer in the above cited phrase to Zedekia
connecting his name (as assumed by some) with a Messian
aspiration. Such a view is in distinct contrast to the idealis
outlook of prophets, which makes it irrelevant to connect
aspiration with a materially living object or person. On t
contrary, it is more logical to suppose that the process w
reversed, that the change of the name Mattaniah to Zedeki
upon his ascent to the throne, was a subsequent result
Jeremiah's prophecy on King Messiah, and, what is mo
probable, the new name was imposed with obvious inte
As might be logically deduced from this supposition we det
in Zedekiah from his very first appearance on the arena
history, a true and loyal disciple of Jeremiah and his gro
of true prophets. And not of least significance is the fa
that the very interpretation of the new name given to h
צדקיהו. Zedekiah points at devotion to one of the basic ide
of the great prophet: צֶדֶק—Justice. This close intima
between the new name acquired by the king and the prophe
primary idea establishes their mutual spiritual kinship fro
the very outset.

---

[1] Compare the difference in the version of the Messiah's name a
the addition in the LXX: Ἰωσέδεκ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις.

[2] *Cf.* J. Klausner, הרעיון המשיחי, 2nd ed., 1927, pp. 64–65.

In conclusion we may add some observations on the olitical conduct of Zedekiah. Our above analysis of the nternal dispute over the legitimacy of the king during the ast decade of the monarchy in Judah requires also a more horough comprehension of Zedekiah's ways and methods. robably, the reaction of Zedekiah to this quarrel and his ndeavour to pacify his personal opponents, who, as mentioned above, included the most virulent enemies of Babylonia, ive us the clue to the paradoxical behaviour of the king which ventually placed him as leader of his own antagonists. This nay possibly be the most acceptable explanation of the aradox as to why Zedekiah finally took over the leaderhip of the rebellion against Babylonia, the very power that ad placed him on the throne and thanks to whom he ucceeded in maintaining his rule for a comparatively long eriod of time. Seeing the order of events in this light, nables us more easily to defend Zedekiah's unwise steps vhich brought disaster upon him and his people. It may also elp us to discard the traditionally accepted doctrine of the ack of courage and fickleness of character in the last king f the House of David, by affording a clearer appreciation of he psychological background to his behaviour.

EXCAVATIONS AT JERICHO

Joint Expedition of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem and the Palestine Exploration Fund

The last major activity of the British School of Archa ology in Jerusalem in Palestine was the part it played in th Joint Expedition to Samaria, which was completed in 193 It was planned in the following years to carry out a archaeological survey of Palestine, but this was serious curtailed by the disturbed condition of the country. I 1939 the war caused the suspension of all work, and th ensuing political troubles prevented its resumption after th war. Reports now suggest that conditions are sufficient stabilised to contemplate work in the field again.

The resources of the School are not sufficient at prese to support a permanent establishment in Jerusalem, bu would suffice to provide the nucleus of funds to carry ou excavations. At the request of the Council of the Schoo Miss K. M. Kenyon recently paid a short visit to Palestin to report on possibilities. The information obtained by th visit showed that excavations in Jordan are entirely possibl but not in Israel, where wages of unskilled labourers are eigh times higher than in Jordan. A resumption of activities b the School would be welcomed by the Antiquities Departmen of the Hashemite Kingdom of the Jordan, and every facilit would be given.

On the receipt of Miss Kenyon's report, the Council the School decided to undertake excavations in Jordan i 1952, and selected Jericho as the site for the first season work. The selection was made in view of the very grea importance of the site at two periods in its history in particula those of the beginnings of neolithic civilization in Palestin and of the Late Bronze Age, in which the history of Jerich of importance in connection with the Israelite occupation f the country.

The contribution of investigations at Jericho to the study f the beginnings of settled occupation in Palestine are of ery great significance. The excavations from 1930 to 1936 nder the direction of Professor John Garstang were only ble to penetrate the early strata in a very limited area. The identification of the area of this early occupation, and learance already carried out by Professor Garstang make urther excavation a comparatively simple matter, and it may e expected to obtain much additional evidence.

The date of the fall of Jericho is of such importance for he history of the Israelite occupation, that it is desirable to btain as much cumulative evidence as possible. All fresh vidence may help to narrow the range of possibilities, while he increase of knowledge of the chronology of the Late Bronze Age, and particularly of its pottery, due to the ublications which have appeared since the earlier excavaions were carried out, will help to provide more exact dating.

Miss K. M. Kenyon has been appointed Director of the School, and will be in charge of the work at Jericho. The staff of the expedition will include a number of students, and the School will thus once more undertake its function of training students in Palestinian archæology.

At the invitation of the School, the Palestine Exploration Fund will participate in the scheme, and a joint Committee has been set up for this purpose. The support of a number of universities and other learned bodies is being invited, and it is hoped that many individuals amongst those interested in Palestinian archæology will contribute towards the excavation fund.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Statue of Idri-mi. By Sidney Smith. (Occasiona Publications of the British Institute of Archæology i Ankara, No. 1. 1949. Pp. 108, 1 map, 17 plates

The statue of Idri-mi was found by Sir Leonard Woolle at Atshanah (the ancient Alalakh) in 1939, but had hardl reached the British Museum when it had to be repacked an stored away for the period of the war. It is remarkable no only for its peculiar style, discussed by Woolley himself i the introduction to this book, but even more on account o the unique inscription of 104 lines which covers a great par of its surface. The inscription reveals the statue to be tha of a king of Alalakh named Idri-mi, son of Ilim-ilimma, an is his autobiography, from the moment when he was force by a rebellion in Aleppo against his father to flee the countr and take refuge in the land of Canaan among the '*Apir* (Habiru) warriors. His exile lasted seven years, after whic he returned home with his followers by ship and wa recognized by his people as king. His first act was to ente into treaty relations with the king of the Hurri, to whom h swore allegiance. After this a raid on certain towns in th land of Hatti brought in rich booty, with which he was abl to embellish his palace. His reign at the time of writin had lasted thirty years. Whether the words in line 9 imply an actual derogation of power to his son seems to m to be doubtful.

The inscription was obviously engraved by a stone-maso who was ignorant of cuneiform, and the forms of the sign are so extraordinary that merely to read the text correctl was a task which taxed to the utmost the ingenuity even o such an experienced epigraphist as Dr. Sidney Smith Dr. Smith's edition gives us not only the photograph, hand-copy, transliteration and translation of the inscription, wit vocabulary and sign-list, but also a most valuable discussio the numerous problems which it raises, such as the location d extent of Idri-mi's kingdom, the dating of the events corded, the interpretation of the personal names, and the nclusions to be drawn from the invocation of certain ities. The book is thus a most important contribution to e history of Syria in the latter half of the second millennium c.

With regard to the text itself, Professor Albright has ready proposed a number of improved readings.[1] I would nly add to these that the signs 10.20.30 in line 98 cannot e read *u-man-niš* (translated "(he) recited it"), since the gn "30" cannot have the value *niš*. It has been ggested to me that the scribe Sharruwa is describing imself in this line as "servant of (the gods) Adad (= 10), hamash (= 20), Sin (= 30) and the goddess Ishtar."

The kingdom of Idri-mi comprised the districts of ukišhe, Ni'i and Ama'u. Mukišhe is the district around lalakh itself and must have extended down the Orontes as ar as the coast, since Idri-mi landed there from the sea. r. Smith argues very plausibly, mainly on the basis of the gyptian texts, that Ni'i is to be located around the Jabbul epression south-east of Aleppo. Ama'u he identifies with he Roman Imma or Emma only a few miles east of Alalakh. hese locations seem inconsistent with the view that Idri-mi ad lost control of Aleppo, which had been his father's apital, for Aleppo—always a great city—lies between tshanah and the Jabbul depression. Still less would this e possible if Ama'u is to be identified with the country ritten *'mw* (the home of Balaam) in Numbers 22, 5, as uggested most ingeniously by Albright, for that is to be ocated to the north-east of Aleppo on the river Sajur. Either Ni'i and Ama'u must form a more compact area to the south of Aleppo, where Ni'i has in fact usually been placed, or else we must assume that Idri-mi's kingdom included Aleppo, though the name is omitted in the text. If the latter solution is correct—and the locations of Ni'i and

---

[1] *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 118, pp. 14–20.

Ama'u proposed by Smith and Albright respectively ar
certainly attractive—one may ask why the capital of th
large kingdom was at Alalakh and not at Aleppo itsel
Perhaps the answer may be that the loyalty of Aleppo wa
still in doubt.

Idri-mi's reign is dated by Dr. Smith 1414–1385 B.C
(assuming a conventional date 1375 for the death o
Amenophis III). The cardinal fact is the establishe
synchronism of Niqmepa, son of an Idri-mi and father of a
Ilim-ilimma, king of Alalakh, with Šausšatar, son o
Parsašatar, king of Mitanni. The Idri-mi of the statue
son of an Ilim-ilimma and father of an Adad-nirar
Obviously therefore the dynasty of Alalakh contained a
least two Idri-mi's or two Ilim-ilimma's. Dr. Smit
examines the possibility of identifying either Idri-mi o
Ilim-ilimma of this inscription with the father or son respec
tively of Niqmepa, and finds the former alternative historical
ly impossible. He therefore adopts the other alternativ
and shows that historical conditions are satisfied if w
identify the Hurrian king to whom Idri-mi swore allegianc
with Šutarna II of Mitanni. This however leads him to a
impossible reading for the signs giving the name of this kin
My earlier suggestion[1] that the name should be rea
Šu-ra-at-tar-na depended on the alleged existence of this for
of the name in the Nuzu tablet quoted on p. 58 of this book
But in fact, as Albright has pointed out, this name is to b
read *Bar-ra-at-tar-na* and in this form can still more easily b
identified with that of the overlord of Idri-mi, read in it
most natural way *Ba-ra-at-tar-na*. Smith in considering thi
reading has assumed that Barattarna must be identified wit
Parsašatar the father of Šausšatar and at once rejects thi
possibility because the reign of the father of Šausšatar mus
on any reckoning have fallen in the period when Syria wa
dominated not by Mitanni but by Egypt. But the identifica
tion with Parsašatar is completely groundless. The histor
of Syria between the fall of the Amorite kingdom of Yamha

---

[1] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1950, p. 76.

nd the conquests of Tuthmosis III is largely unknown, and ere may well have been an earlier period of domination y Mitannian kings. One such king is Šutarna I, son of ... . -dirta, whose seal was used by Šaussatar; Barattarna is robably another. Idri-mi the son of Ilim-ilimma and assal of Barattarna might still be the same as Idri-mi the ther of Niqmepa if Niqmepa were a considerably older ontemporary of Saussatar and began his reign under gyptian domination. We should then have to suppose hat Adad-nirari the son of Idri-mi was an elder brother of iqmepa and his predecessor on the throne of Alalakh. r. Smith's identification of this Adad-nirari with the writer f Amarna Letter No. 51 appears in any case to be forced. he latter is most naturally taken to be a king of Nuhašši.

Besides these important historical discussions the book ontains many interesting allusions to the author's views on arious points of grammar and syntax, especially on the use f the “ t-form ” of the verb. One would welcome a more ystematic treatment of these matters by him on some uture occasion.

O. R. G.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks th following :—

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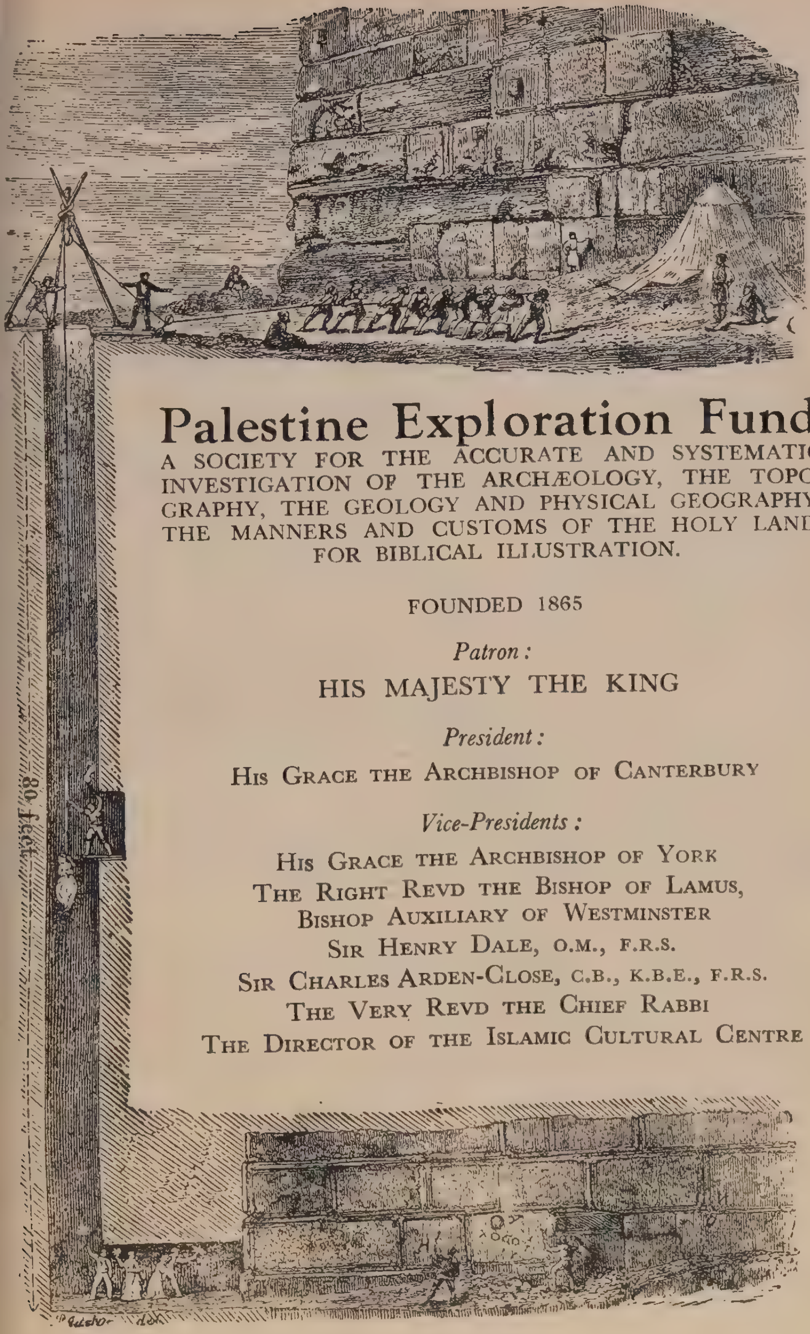

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NOTES AND NEWS

In the previous issue of this journal reference was made to Mr. Seton Lloyd's exploratory survey of the site of Harran with a view to its excavation this summer. Now a preliminary announcement in *The Times* has appeared giving an account of important discoveries made there. A chamber apparently lying outside the area of the late Assyrian building was found to contain a store of cuneiform tablets. Examination of 150 of these tablets by Dr. Oliver Gurney and Dr. Mustafa Selçuk has shown that they form part of a library of standard texts similar to that assembled by the later Assyrian kings at Nineveh. Most of the works are of religious or mythological character, including hymns, prayers, incantations, and omens. Portions of the Epic of Creation and the Epic of Gilgamesh have been identified. The latter discovery is of special interest, as it appears that it will render possible the restoration of that part of the lament of Gilgamesh for Enkidu which was imperfectly preserved in the 8th tablet of the Nineveh series. Also of great interest is the question how this important collection of tablets came to be deposited at this site. It is suggested that the contents so strongly resemble those of the royal libraries at Nineveh, that this collection may prove to be a portion of one of these libraries hastily removed to this frontier station before the growing menace which finally overwhelmed the Assyrian Empire. The discovery raises high hopes of further illuminating revelations.

In its issue for April, 1951, the *Revue Biblique* contains the report by R. P. P. Benoit and R. P. M.-E. Boismard of the excavation of an early Christian sanctuary at Bethany.

The work has been done with the usual competence of the Dominican School at Jerusalem. Of special interest are the numerous graffiti and Christian symbols cut in the plaster of the walls of the grotto. Nearly all of these are in Greek, and consist for the most part of proper names ; but some of the names are accompanied by invocations or formulae occupying from three to five lines. The most interesting of these is an inscription which runs : " O Lord God, who didst raise Lazarus from the dead, remember thy servant Asclepius and thy handmaid Chionion." It is noteworthy that it is God the Father who is invoked as the one who raised Lazarus. The grotto seems to have been used first of all as a cistern ; then in the early Christian centuries it became a place of pilgrimage, and its walls were plastered and used by pilgrims for inscriptions and symbols. The Moslem conquest put an end to this use of the grotto, and it seems to have reverted to secular use. The authors of the report incline to place the earliest of the graffiti in the 4th century A.D., a view which is supported by the frequent occurrence of the Constantinian monogram among the graffiti. It is not clear why the grotto became a place of pilgrimage. It is not the tomb of Lazarus, which has been located elsewhere in Bethany, and no literary evidence appears to exist which might identify the place as one which tradition had connected with some incident in the Gospel story. The same issue contains a careful review of Professor Rowley's recent Schweich Lectures *From Joseph to Joshua*.

In the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for January, 1951, Professor Zeitlin, unable to keep his self-imposed vow of silence, returns to his somewhat petulant attacks on those who are foolish and ignorant enough to adhere to the pre-Christian date for some at least of the Ain Feshkha Scrolls. It is noteworthy that Dr. Zeitlin now denies that any of the scrolls were found in a cave, though he has not so far offered an explanation of the presence of the great quantity of fragments of MSS found in the cave when it was explored by Mr. Lankester Harding and Père de Vaux. It is much to be regretted that this controversy is generating so much heat and bitterness of spirit.

The *Journal of Near Eastern Studies for April*, 1951, contains a short but important article by Mr. M. B. Rowton on the much-debated problem of the circumstances under which Josiah came to his death. He puts forward the suggestion that in 608 B.C., Necho II led an army to furnish assistance to his ally Ashur-uballit, but that some event intervened to prevent him from joining forces with the Assyrian king and fighting a decisive battle. This intervention, according to Mr. Rowton, was the heroic action of Josiah who threw himself and his little Judaean army across Necho's route at Megiddo, and thus by sacrificing himself delayed the Egyptian advance long enough to allow the Medes and Babylonians to finish off Ashur-uballit before he could be reinforced by Necho. " Thus," says Mr. Rowton, " it seems very probable that the last of the great Jewish kings laid down his life in a truly heroic and entirely successful bid to avenge the dreadful wrongs his nation had suffered at the hands of Assyria." The same issue has also a translated article by a Russian scholar, Mr. M. I. Maksimova, on the subject of the Hittites in the Black Sea region.

The special supplement to the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* for December, 1950, should be of great interest to students of cuneiform and of ancient Mesopotamian civilization. It is by L. F. Hartman and A. L. Oppenheim, and consists of the publication of a text which deals with the technical processes employed in the brewing of beer in ancient Mesopotamia. We know from many ritual texts that the gods of Babylon and Assyria liked their beer, and drank it regularly at meals. It is a matter of considerable interest to discover both from Egyptian and Mesopotamian sources how ancient is the brewers' art. Indeed, so highly was beer esteemed that it was deified under the name of Siris, a goddess ; moreover, up to the end of the dynasty of Hammurabi, brewing seems to have been in the hands of women. It was the *sabitum*, or female brewer, who both made and sold beer of a special kind in her tavern. There is a well-known episode in the Epic of Gilgamesh in which the female inn-keeper, Siduri, who seems to be a goddess, seeks to dissuade the hero from attempting the perilous crossing of the Waters of Death. The value of this important philological and sociological study, not to mention its lexicographical significance, is enhanced by a number of illustrations from Babylonian and Egyptian sources showing how these ancient people took their pleasure over their beer.

Volume XIII, pt. I, of *Iraq* contains a description of fresh ivories discovered by Professor Mallowan during his excavations at Nimrud, 1949-1950, illustrated by excellent plates ; the publication by Mr. D. J. Wiseman of two important historical inscriptions from the same source, with text, transcription, translation and notes ; and the publication by Mr. C. J. Gadd of an interesting inscription in Sumerian on a clay cone found at Ur. This article also contains a facsimile, text, transcription and translation with notes. The value of the Nimrud inscriptions lies in the fact that the first is the only extant document from which knowledge can be gained of the campaign undertaken by Tiglath-pileser III against Philistia in 734 B.C., while the second is the first recorded text of Ashurbanipal to be found at Nimrud; it deals with the revolt of Babylon, instigated by Elam, in 649 B.C., and describes the famine and submission of Babylon. Mr. Gadd's inscription records the appointment of a royal princess, named En-an-e-du, as priestess to the Moon-god at Ur in the 6th year of the reign of Warad-Sin. The notes throw much valuable light upon the cult of the Moon-god, and on the history of the dynasty of Isin.

Volume 32, fasc. I of *Biblica* contains an article by Fr. O'Callaghan on the location of Beeroth on the mosaic Madeba map ; also an article on the writing of the divine names YHVH and EL in the Dead Sea Scrolls, by R. P. P. Boccaccio. Both contain material of considerable interest.

SOME NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF JERICHO IN THE SECOND MILLENNIUM B.C.

BY KATHLEEN M. KENYON, M.A., F.S.A.

The mound of Tell es Sultan, which covers the remains of biblical (and prehistoric) Jericho has attracted the attention of archaeologists for nearly a hundred years, from the preliminary exploration by Warren in 1868, through the large scale excavations of the German expedition under Sellin and Watzinger in 1907–9 to those of Professor John Garstang from 1930 to 1936. The progress of archaeological technique is reflected in the increasing exactitude of information obtained by these successive investigations. Those of Professor Garstang enabled many corrections to be made in the conclusions of his predecessors, and made a great wealth of information available to the archaeological world.

Professor Garstang's interim reports appeared regularly and promptly each year[1]; but during the period of the excavations changes were made, in agreement with other scholars, in the nomenclature and classification of Palestinian antiquities, and further modifications have been made as a result of subsequent work. Obligations of the second world war having frustrated his intention of publishing a revised account of his records in a single volume, he had to be content with a short summary written in collaboration with his son, and he has now invited me to review his records, which were deposited as a gift in the P.E.F. library in 1949. Recognising that our knowledge of Palestinian antiquities has greatly increased since his reports were written, he has given me a free hand to draw my own inferences and to publish them if they differ materially from his own, asking only that in such cases I should also state the basis of his original conclusions. It is on this agreement that I submit the following preliminary study. The reader will realise that it is not a question of the facts, but of the interpretation to be placed upon them that is here discussed.

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[1] *Liverpool Annals of Art and Archaeology*, XIX, 1–2 (quoted as *J.*1), XIX, 3–4 (*J.*2), XX (*J.*3), XXI, 3–4 (*J.*4), XXII, 3–4 (*J.*5), XXIII, 3–4 (*J.*6).

Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, 1930 (*J.*1*a*), 1931 (*J.*2*a*), 1935 (*J.*5*a*), 1936 (*J.*6*a*).

For the benefit of those who have not recently studied the excavation reports, conclusions concerning Jericho in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages may be summarised as follows: During the Middle Bronze Age, the town identified as City III reached its maximum extension. It was defended by a great Fosse, which on the internal slope was faced with a battered stone glacis crowned by a mud-brick parapet. This great defensive system, which is typical of the style attributed to the Hyksos period in Palestine, lay well down the slope of the hill, outside the line followed by the Early Bronze Age wall. Of the contemporary town, the main portion excavated on the slopes above the spring of 'Ain es Sultan consisted of a series of storerooms, many of them found stacked with pithoi containing carbonised grain. The whole range of rooms had been gutted by fire and left to decay.

The glacis defence line was succeeded by a double brick wall, in part linked to form casemates, which on the north, west and south sides was considerably further up the hill than its predecessor, on the west side in fact being built upon the remains of the Early Bronze Age Wall. On the east side the line has not yet been found. The Late Bronze Age wall, enclosing the Fourth City, was subsequently wrecked by an earthquake, and together with the associated buildings was subjected to a violent conflagration. This destruction Professor Garstang associated with the attack of the Israelites under Joshua, and dates it to between 1400 and 1385 B.C., which appears to accord well with the date suggested by I. Kings vi. i. To the same city he originally ascribed a substantial building overlying the Middle Bronze Age store-rooms. The generally accepted revision of the dating of the

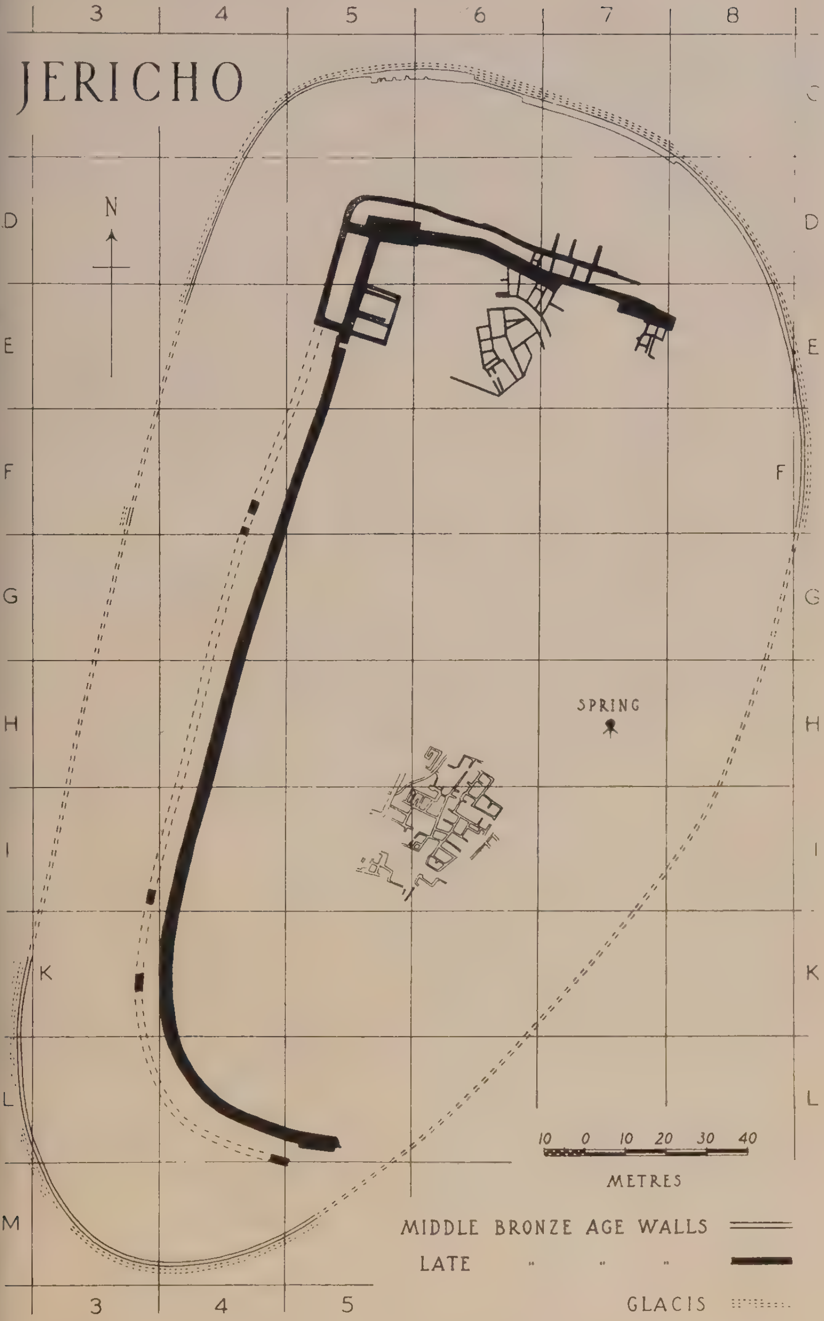
JERICHO
N
SPRING
3
4
5
6
7
8
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
K
L
M
10 0 10 20 30 40
METRES
MIDDLE BRONZE AGE WALLS
LATE " " "
GLACIS

Fig. 1. The Walls of Jericho.

pottery from Beth-shan stratum IX, which closely resembled the pottery associated with this building, however, showed that this building may be later than the beginning of the fourteenth century. This was indeed Professor Garstang's first impression ; in his latest publication[1] he suggests that the building was an intrusive one, later than the main destruction, and possibly to be attributed to Eglon, King o Moab, at the end of the century. The site was then no re-occupied as a city until well on into the Early Iron Age.

In addition to excavations within the city, a number o tombs were examined. Of those comparatively intact, one was early E.B., and one late E.B., 16 (5 published) M.B. 5 (3 published) M.B. and L.B., and 2 Iron Age.

Discussion of the results has chiefly centred on the dat of the destruction of the Fourth, Late Bronze Age, city, an his dates have not found universal acceptance. Professo W. F. Albright, according to his latest published views[2] woul place the destruction within the period 1375 to 1300, whil Père H. Vincent would make a much more drastic revision and bring it down to c. 1250.

Considerations bearing on this dating will be discusse below, but first it seems worth while to make some observa tions upon the history of the site in the Middle Bronze Age

Two sections through the Middle Bronze Age glaci defences on the north side of the hill have been published here reproduced as Fig. 2 and 3,[4] and there are a number o other sketch sections, of the same area, in the field notes A combination of the evidence of these two sections show that the fosse was cut into the pre-existing levels for a depth at the inner side, cf. 3.50 m. The evidence for this is cleares in Fig. 2, where the upper part of the stone revetment is buil with a vertical back, against the pre-existing Early Bronze Ag City Wall. The ground level contemporary with this wal was presumably where its face is set back 0.90 m. Fig. 3 does not demonstrate this so clearly. It is possible that the earlier wall had been robbed out at this point. On the other hand, a portion of the vertical back was recorded, while the field section on which the published one was clearly based does not show the courses stepping back obliquely above the vertical portion, and it looks as if the back of the revetment was not in fact reached here, presumably to avoid causing the collapse of the superimposed brick parapet. It is therefore possible that the early wall did in fact exist, but in this section, one of the first to be dug, was not recognised.

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[1] *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, LVIII, reprinte in *The Story of Jericho*.

[2] *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 74.

[3] *Revue Biblique*, 1935.

[4] *P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1931, Fig. 1, and *ibid.*, 1930, Pl. VI.

The inner face of the ditch was then given a heavy stone revetment, many of the lower stones being extremely large. The base of the ditch was cut in the natural rock, and Professor Garstang suggests that some of the stones were

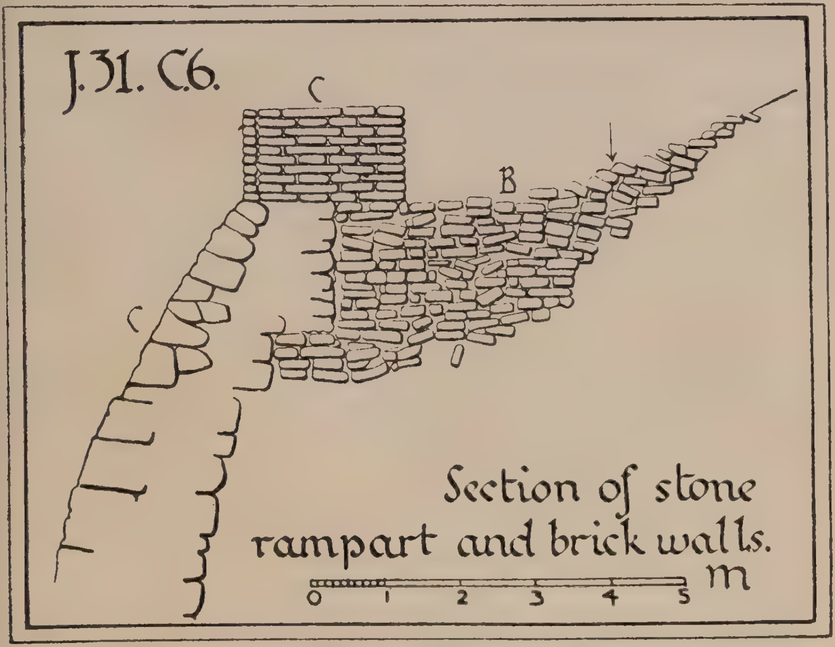

Fig. 2.—Section of Stone Rampart C, supported by remains of brick wall B, with superimposed brick parapet.

quarried from it and moved straight into position. The gentler outer slope was not reveted. Presumably the upper portion, above a point to which the pre-existing level may be expected to have sloped down, following the general line of fall, consisted of up-cast from the construction of the ditch, forming, in fact, a counterscarp.

It should be noted that the layer, which in Fig. 3 is shown as underlying the early wall (or its robber trench) should not in fact be attributed to M.B.I. When this work was carried out in 1930, the chronology of early Palestinian pottery was still very uncertain. The actual material from this layer is not published, but was presumably similar to that called M.B.I, at this stage in the excavations, from other parts of the site, notably Tomb A. This is clearly E.B. III, so this should be the date to be assigned to this layer. Since it apparently underlies the wall in question, the wall must be dated to the very end of the Early Bronze Age at earliest.

The dating evidence for the glacis defence system was provided by pottery immediately inside it. The majority of this is not published, but is recorded as M.B. II.[1] This pottery is said to come in part from the hollow at the back of the revetment, which, as has been shown above, was largely occupied by the earlier wall. It is possible that the wall was in part more ruinous than is shown in Fig. 2, and that there was overlying debris contemporary with the building of the revetment. If it did come from the core of the early wall, it would of course bring the date of this wall down into the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age. The deposit in question does not appear in the chart of finds in the field records, so the point cannot be checked.

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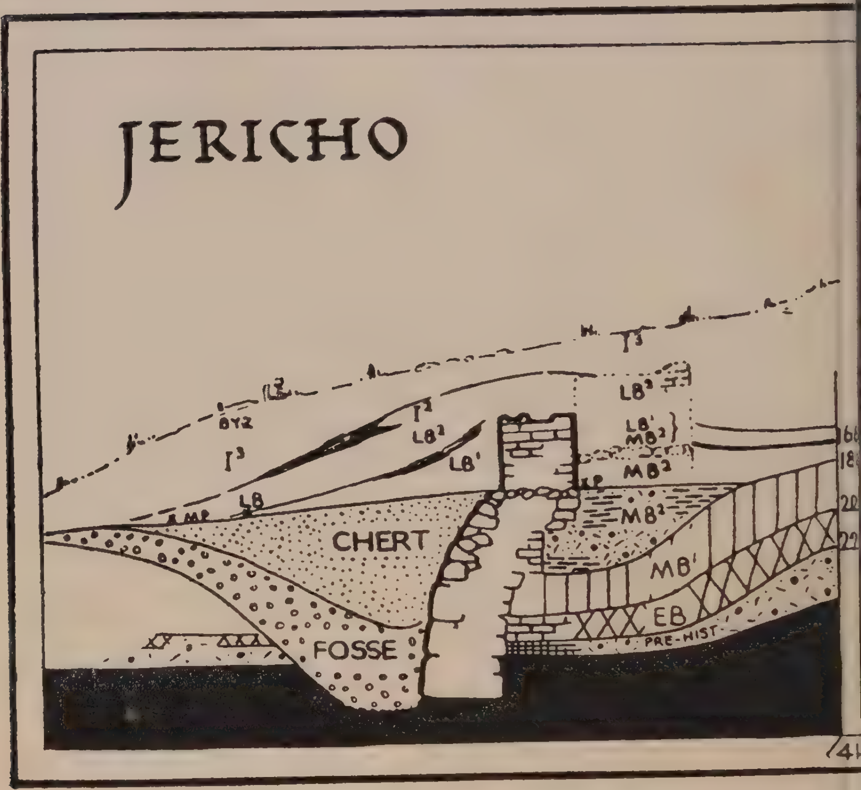
[1] The term was here used to distinguish it from the E.B. III–IV pottery which at that time was called M.B. I (see above). Since that date, Professor Albright has used the term to describe the pottery found at Tell Beit Mersin Level H, and his nomenclature has been generally followed. This pottery undoubtedly belongs to an intrusive culture, datable to about the Twenty-first and Twentieth centuries B.C., which is quite distinct from both the E.B., and M.B. of Palestine. It seems to me to be far more satisfactory to call this E.B.–M.B. and to reserve the term M.B. I for the very distinctive pottery, contemporary with the Twelfth Dynasty of Egypt, which appears in Tell Beit Mersin G, and definitely represents the start of an era. I shall use it in this sense. M.B. II in the Jericho reports covers my M.B. I and II throughout, whether M.B. I is used in the earlier sense or whether, as in the later reports, used in Professor Albright's sense.

That the glacis does however come within the Middle Bronze Age seems to be clear. It was surmounted by a brick parapet which rested partly on the top of the glacis and partly on the earlier wall behind. Against its back, and therefore subsequent to its building, ran a layer marked M.B.II. One specimen from this is published (*J.*1, Pl. I.1), a juglet which might fall anywhere in M.B., though more probably early than late. This layer is, as has been said, subsequent to the building of the parapet, but may be beneath the contemporary floor, since there seems to be a floor about 0.50 m. above the base of the wall, and since in one sketch field section (Fig. 4 below) there is a projecting brick in the third course (it is noted that 3 courses equal 0.45 m.) which would presumably be below the contemporary level. That the glacis is unlikely to be later than M.B. is shown by M.B. and L.B.I. pottery in the fosse and against its face.

The problems concerning the defences of the third city of Jericho on which light could be thrown by advances in technique and knowledge of pottery in the twenty years since this area was excavated are therefore mainly concerned with where in the Middle Bronze Age its construction should be placed. This is, however, of importance. The type of defence consisting of fosse and glacis is that associated with the Hyksos (though the material here used is not that of the terre pisée glacis of S. Palestine, it is essentially the same type of structure) and more evidence is needed as to the date they obtained control of Palestine, which may well be earlier than the date, *c.* 1730, when they obtained power in Egypt.

The only considerable area of the Middle Bronze Age city buildings to be excavated was a group of rooms in squares H5–6–K5–6. These consist of a number of small rooms above the spring, terraced up the slope of the hill, which is here fairly steep (the surface contours indicate a rise

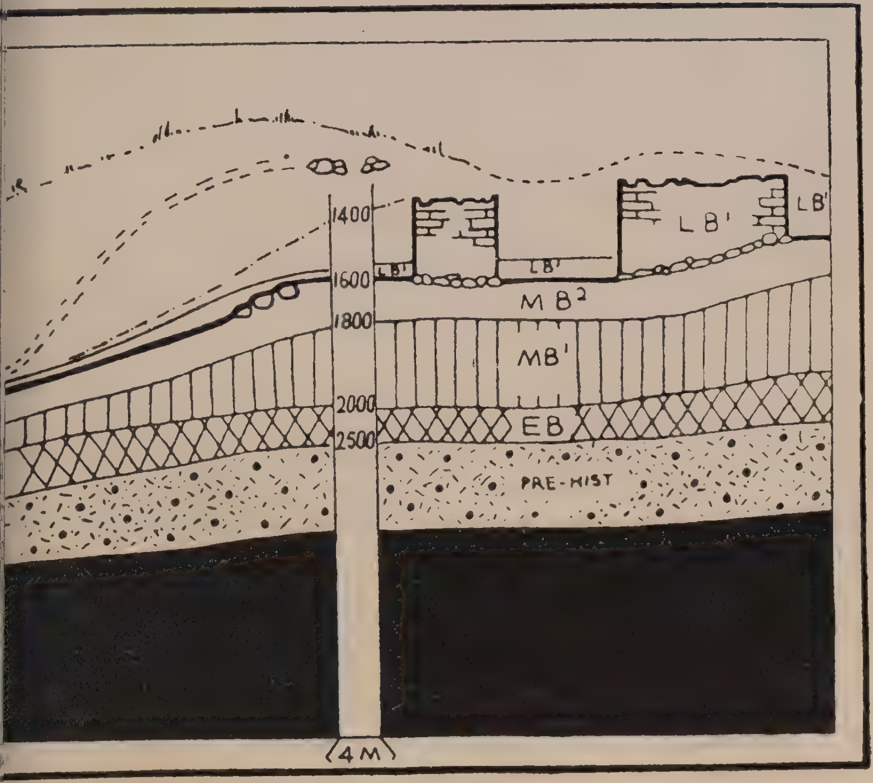

JERICHO
BYZ
I³
LB
CHERT
FOSSE
I²
LB²
LB¹
LB³
LB¹
MB²
MB²
MB²
MB¹
EB
PRE-HIST

Section North and South through the North End of the

It involves on the L, the outer fosse, stone revetment, and brick walls of L.B. i., c. 1600-1400 B.C. Against the inner face of the in LB ii. (1400-1200 B.C.) and is associated with the outer layer

Sca

Fig. 3.


1400
1600
1800
2000
2500
LB'
LB'
LB'
LB'
MB²
MB'
EB
PRE-HIST
4 M

along the Line n-x in Squares C6, D6, E6 of the Plan, Pl. 1.
c. 1800-1600 B.C., and on the R. near the surface, the double brick
the profile of a room which interrupts the upper strata; it was built
and a vase in Mykenæan style. M.P of the same date as the house.
1 : 200.

of 12 m. in 39 m., diagonally from S.E. to N.W.). On Fig. 11 the plan of these buildings given in *J.4*, Pl. XIII, has been added to a general plan of the site based on *J.1a*, Pl. I, and *J.2a*, Pl. I.[1] Many of the rooms contained rows of pithoi and they are considered to represent the storage rooms of the Palace. The Palace itself was not excavated, but apparently lay to the west, in squares I5–H5. It is suggested, however, that the two walls shown on the plan belong to a Late Bronze Age rebuilding.

In excavation, the fill of the various rooms was divided from below up, into levels *c*, *b* and *a*, with, in some cases, a level *d* beneath the foundations. It is suggested that level *c* represents the original floor level, succeeded after a destruction by level *b*, of which the culture was extremely close to level *c*. An analysis of the field records, however, makes me doubt whether there was in fact more than one main level. Difficulty is caused by the fact that in some cases the storage jars seem from the first to have been sunk in the floor of the room, with their mouths at floor level. This appears, for instance, to be the case in Room 41, where the bases of the jars are on a level with the base of the walls of the room. This level is 0.45 m. below the sill of a doorway between rooms 41 and 42, which presumably gives approximately the level of the original floor. The bases of the jars rest on a burnt level, which is also found beneath room 40, where burnt logs run beneath the walls of the room (see *J.4*, Pl. XVI) and this must belong to a preceding stage. The jars in room 41 were found full of burnt grain, and the walls were heavily burnt above, but not below, the level of the door sill, which is additional proof that the contemporary floor was at that level. There are two instances in which a second level seems to be suggested. For room 44, a field section shows rows of amphorae at the lower level. The bases of the walls are not indicated, nor is there any extraneous evidence as to the position of the floor but the upper parts of the jars are broken off, so they were presumably not completely embedded in the floor. Above some 0.45 m. of fill, of which the top was sloping, is a layer of burning, and above it some more broken jugs and other vessels. These, however, do not rest squarely in the burnt level, but are at varying distances above it. From this fact and from the lack of a level top to the lower fill, it does seem possible that the upper series of pots had fallen from an upper room. The other instance of a possible second phase, within the same culture, is room 17. Here, the rows of jars were clearly standing on the lowest floor, registered as *c*, not sunk into it. From above this, between 7.50 m. and 8 m., were a number of objects registered as *b*, and signs of a rebuilding of one of the walls and a possible door-way are in the report associated with this. But from the very clear notes, it appears that the level of the doorway was at 8.44 m., and that there was a mound of burnt bricks which sloped down from at least 7.70 m., to the floor at 6.65 m., showing that the whole of this was one fill. Any new floor was therefore at least above 7.70 m., and was probably at 8.44. All the objects registered as *b* are then below the probable level of a new floor. They clearly are in the debris which collapsed into the rooms after the destruction, probably from upper storeys, of which there is evidence in a number of places. No objects are registered from *c*, so that even if this room does show a rebuilding it cannot be proved to belong to the same cultural phase.

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[1] It should be noted that there is apparently an error in drawing in the site grid in *J.4*, Pl. XIII, as it has squares of *c.* ·25 m. instead of ·30 m., as on all other plans. The line of the grid and the junction point of squares H5–H6, I5–I6, apparently agrees with the main plan, and has been taken as correct. The position of the early tower in I5–I6 is different in the *J.4* plan from that given in the site plans. The former has been taken as correct.

It has not been possible to study all the evidence in equal detail. The results obtained from the material available do, however, suggest that it is unnecessary to deduce a destruction within M.B. II, on a site which already produces evidence of enough destruction as it is.

On the other hand, it does appear, from the evidence of burning beneath rooms 40 and 41 (and a number of other instances are referred to in the publication and the notes), that the construction of the M.B. II complex of storerooms was preceded by the burning of underlying buildings. It is possible that rooms 71–2 on the plan *J.*4, Pl. XV, belong to these buildings but the position here is not very clear. For the most part, the excavations were not carried down into the underlying levels, and therefore little pottery assignable to them is published. On Fig. 5, however, are illustrated a bowl and a stone mortar which come from the level beneath room 40. The bowl has clear parallels with vessels from the M.B.I.[1] levels of Tell Beit Mersim G–F and Megiddo XII–XI. That this M.B.I. phase was well represented at Jericho is shown by notes (in the field records) of Dr. I. Ben-Dor on pottery on an area beneath the Palace storerooms 44, 47–29, 34, where excavations were apparently carried lower.[2] It is a little difficult to relate these records exactly to the published one, as *J.*4, Pl. XIV, Section *m–b*, does not quite touch this area. From a level which, on a thus necessarily rough approximation, extends from just above the *base* of the walls of the storerooms to *c.* 0.40 m. below them came M.B. II pottery, equivalent to Tell Beit Mersim levels E–D. Below that was another set of rooms, numbered 603–7; and associated with them (though exactly how is not clear), was a stratum 2.30 m. thick, with M.B.I.[3] pottery equivalent to Tell Beit Mersim G–F. Beneath again were rooms 606B, 607B, 608 and 609, with E.B.–M.B.[3], pottery like Tell Beit Mersim H and some late E.B. sherds. The lowest level reached was an E.B. III one, which included a fragment of Khirbet Kerak ware, and of which the base was approximately 5.50 m. below the bottom of the walls of the M.B. II storerooms.

Thus, the evidence suggests that the occupation of Jericho on a large scale (for the area referred to in the last paragraph is well down the slope) was continuous from the late Early

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[1] See note p. 106.

[2] These notes are refered to in *J.6.*, p. 74. as "Section VI, below," but were not in fact published.

[3] See note p. 106.

Bronze Age to the date of the Palace storerooms.[1] This date is clearly established by the very fully published pottery and other objects. From the published information it is not always possible to assign the material to an exact relationship to the history of the buildings. On Figs. 6–8 are collected a number of these examples which are definitely recorded as being on the original floors of the rooms. The rest of the pottery which may come from these floors, or from the overlying fill, which I believe to be contemporary material from destroyed upper rooms, is exactly similar. As the quoted parallels (below p. 123 ff.) show, the pottery equated closely with that of Tell Beit Mersim levels E and D, and with Megiddo XI–X, that is to say the latest M.B. levels of these sites. For both, a terminal date of *c.* 1560 has been suggested, that is to say, the period of the re-assertion of Egyptian control of Palestine under Dynasty XVIII.

The storerooms were therefore destroyed at the same time as Tell Beit Mersim D, and I would suggest that the city was, like Tell Beit Mersim, unoccupied for a period after that. The upper layers of the storerooms, registered as *a*, are quite clearly not an occupation level at all, but represent debris accumulation, which merges with the overlying " Streak " (discussed below). This debris contains pottery of a much later date, probably, as will be shown, fourteenth century. It thus seems probable that this area at least was not occupied for some 150 years.

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[1] In passing, attention may be drawn to the appearance at Jericho of the type of E.B.-M.B. pottery found at Tell Beit Mersim (the tall ovoid jars are specifically mentioned by Dr. Ben-Dor), at T. Ajjul in the " Copper Age " cemetery, T. Duweir and a number of other South Palestinian sites. It does not appear in the equivalent stages at Megiddo, nor as far as I am aware, at Beth-Shan (but there is a gap in the published pottery from this site between E.B.III and L.B.II, and I have not seen the unpublished material, so I may be wrong about this). The Megiddo type of pottery on the other hand appears in a tomb at El Husn in Transjordan, which Mr. Harding is about to publish. A study of the distribution of the types of this phase intermediate between E.B. and M.B., when there were clearly a number of incursions into Palestine, may produce interesting results.

The difficulty during the excavations in establishing the existence of a gap was largely due to the fact that the buildings are on a steep slope. Decay and denudation of the upper levels was thus apt to spread Middle Bronze Age pottery down the slope even as late as the period at which later pottery was appearing, and thus the same horizon contained this later material and some from the Middle Bronze Age. At the time the excavations were in progress, the problem was confused by the too early date (Thotmes III, i.e., early fifteenth century instead of fourteenth century) given to Beth-shan level IX, with which all who knew both sets of pottery compared the later material. It was therefore not unnaturally believed that the Middle Bronze Age pottery developed without break into the later phase.

In this belief confirmation was apparently given by a similar transition in the tombs excavated, which produced a very rich collection of material. An analysis of the tomb material, however, leads me to believe that a similar break is illustrated, without exception, there.

In the first place, the majority of the tombs excavated in fact stop at the end of M.B. II, the latest material being exactly comparable to that discussed above from the storerooms. Three published tombs, 13, 4 and 5 also contain L.B. material. In 13, a gap was recognised between M.B. II and L.B. II use. In 4, there was considered to be continuous use from 1750 B.C. to the late sixteenth century, followed by re-use at the end of the fifteenth century. Tomb 5 was considered to continue in use from the same date down to *c.* 1425 B.C. Both 4 and 5 were held to contain layers transitional from M.B. II to L.B. I. In my opinion, in both cases the complicated stratification of the tombs and the erroneous dating of the comparative Beth-shan material produced a misleading impression.

The tombs were all very carefully excavated in layers of *c.* 10 to 15 cms. in depth. It was recognised that these layers were artificial ones, but it was believed that they gave, over all, an impression of the succession. But it must be noted that multiple-burial tombs, in point of fact, do not produce orderly stratification of this sort. This is well illustrated by the contemporary Cypriot tombs excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. The procedure during the use of the tomb seems to have been that when a fresh burial was put in, earlier burials and their associated deposits were swept to the back and sides, and the bones and offerings tended to pile up there. That this was also so at Jericho is shown on the tomb plans by the accumulation of material at the rear of the tombs, and by the almost complete absence of intact skeletons. There was only one undisturbed burial in Tomb 4, in layer *sub-c*, and none is shown in either of the other two tombs in question. The result of this process would be that the piled-up early material at the sides might be at the same absolute level as later burials in the space cleared in the centre. If this level is taken as representing a true stratum it gives the erroneous impression of a transitional level, which impression is made possible when the later pottery is believed, as it was at Jericho at the period of the excavations, to be so much earlier than is actually the case, apparently bringing the two groups within fifty years of other other.

When the excavations were in progress, the true transitional pottery from M.B. to L.B., and that of early L.B. I, was in fact scarcely known in Palestine, and well-authenticated examples have only been provided by the magnificently full publication of the material from Megiddo and Tell Duweir.[1] It is now quite clear that this material, of which a typical example may be given in Megiddo Tomb 1100A,[2] is completely lacking at Jericho both in the city and in the tombs.

An analysis of the plans of the Jericho tombs in question confirms the probabilities of a gap in use. In Tomb 4, there was, as has been mentioned, an intact burial in layer *sub-c*. This, in the first place, seals a considerable part of the underlying layers *d* and *e*, which are in fact purely M.B. III In a multiple burial tomb, the probabilities are that an intact burial is either the latest in the tomb, or else was followed by a sufficient interval before the next interment for a layer of protective earth to have accumulated above it Since in this case there was apparently 0.30 m. to 0.40 m. of deposit above (containing pots, so it cannot have accumulated after the disuse of the tomb) the latter alternative is presumably correct, and provides a pointer as to where the break comes. Recognisably Late Bronze Age vessels do in fact start from this height. An analysis of the pottery in layer *c* shows, as far as the vessels are published (naturally the publication has had to be selective), that there are only three definitely Middle Bronze Age specimens out in the centre of the tomb, the rest being found round the walls, especially at the back. The two M.B. specimens in layer *b* are also towards the side of the tomb. The grouping of the Late Bronze Age specimens from layers *sub-c*, *c*, *b*, and *a*, on the other hand, is such to suggest three or four burials, three across the front of the tomb and possibly one at the rear, overlaying the piled-up earlier material.

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[1] At Megiddo from the tombs in *Megiddo Tombs* by Guy and Engberg, and from the tell in *Megiddo II* (Level IX) by Loud. From Tell Duweir in *Lachish II*, by Tufnell, Inge and Harding.

[2] *Megiddo Tombs*, Pl. 45–7.

The evidence from the other two tombs in question seems to be similar. In the case of Tomb 5, the check could not be so thorough, as, owing to the great mass of material, the publication of drawings was necessarily much more selective. On the evidence available, the Late Bronze Age material from layers *f* to *a* is concentrated towards the front on the right-hand side, with one small group towards the left rear. In Tomb 13, the only M.B. specimens recorded in the upper layer are against the back wall, and the distribution of L.B. material suggests some three or four burials.

Against the suggestion that there is a gap in the occupation of the tombs, it must be noted that Tomb 5 contained royal scarabs of Thotmes III (1501–1447 B.C.) and Hatshepsut (1501–1479 B.C.) and Tomb 4 one of Amenhotep III (1412–1376 B.C.). The latter would fit in with a suggested date of resumption of occupation towards 1400 B.C., but the former would fall within the suggested period of abandonment. The suggestion put forward in the report that it was the insignia of office of the person buried is tempting, but it is so much at variance with the lack of what we now know as fifteenth century pottery, that it can only be suggested that it was an heirloom. We have not sufficient evidence of how in Palestine such scarabs, which may in origin have been insignia, were treated, to allow such a find by itself to contradict other evidence. It may have become a valued possession in the family of a former ruler.

The date of the Late Bronze Age material from these tombs is discussed below in connection with the date of the Fourth City.

It is therefore suggested that the destruction of the Palace storerooms in fact represents a destruction of the Third City, and that this event was followed by a period of abandonment. This destruction comes at the end of the Middle Bronze Age, and though in terms of years this cannot be exactly fixed, the political context suggests that Jericho, like Tell Beit Mersim, was destroyed somewhere in the period 1580 to 1550 B.C.

The excavation produced sound stratigraphical proof that the walls of the Third City were succeeded by a double brick-built rampart, placed, at least on the north, west and south sides, further up the hill. The section reproduced as Fig. 3 shows that these walls are built upon the layer which runs up to the back of the wall of the Third City.

The need for careful stratigraphical excavation of this key section was fully recognised, and the pottery was recorded by half-metre levels. Only sherds, not suitable for publication, were recovered, but the general character of the pottery as falling early in the Late Bronze Age, was recognised. Better evidence as to the type of Late Bronze Age pottery found on the site was found elsewhere, and is discussed below.

The section through the fosse showed that the lower part was filled with debris, apparently including collapsed mud-brick from the rampart. This must represent the period of abandonment. In a sketch section in the field records, the finds in the lower part of this are recorded as M.B. II, while at the top L.B. I is recorded in two places. If L.B. I here equates with what is called L.B. I in the later reports (i.e., corresponding to Beth-shan level IX) this would mean that the silting continued down to at least the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Above the silting was a deposit of chert chippings, obviously representing an intentional levelling up of the partially filled fosse, such as one would expect to be associated with a general tidying up when the place was reconditioned. The top of this filling was brought to a flat surface flush with the base of the brick parapet which rested on the stone revetment. Clearly when this was done, the revetment was standing at least 1.75 m. high, for a subsequent filling accumulated against its face to that height. It therefore appears to me to be probable that the parapet was retained in use as a third line of defence, for the men who carefully tidied over the fosse would hardly have done so if they were going to leave the adjacent wall ruinous. Two additional notes in the records also point to this. In the first place, in one or two places the field supervisor's notes query whether

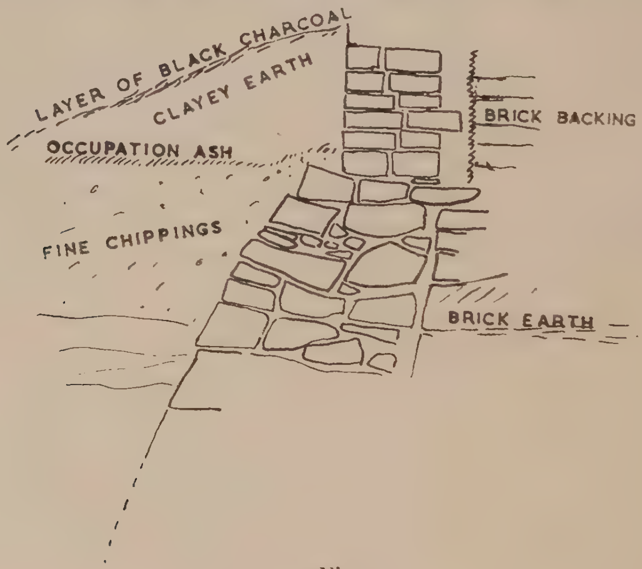

Fig. 4

the brick parapet is original, which suggests that it may have been partly rebuilt at this stage. In the second, the field section reproduced as Fig. 4 records a " layer of occupation ash " overlying the chert fill, showing that this represents a true surface.

The suggestion that this outer wall continued in use may help to explain what happened with regard to the defences on the eastern side. Here, no traces of the walls of the Fourth City have been found. Since these walls are on the west side based on those of the Second City, it was at one stage presumed that on the east side also they followed the same line (e.g., *J.*1*a*, Pl. I). Early in the excavations it was believed that they made use of the great tower of the Second City in square K6. Subsequent work, however, shows that this tower was well-buried by M.B. II, while excavation in square I6 showed no traces of a later wall running in that direction. Moreover, the field notes clearly record that where in square E8 the wall of the Second City passes beneath that of the Fourth City at right angles, the latter continued on towards the east beyond the area cleared. No traces of it turning south were found in the 1935–6 excavations in squares E6 to E8, nor in the German trench through F7. Unless, therefore, it has been completely removed by denudation, which is not probable from the surviving stratification at least in I6, the east side must therefore lie well down the slope, and it may well have made use of the line of the wall of the Third City, which it is suggested in the last paragraph was retained as an additional defence on the north side. It does seem reasonable to suggest that once the source of the spring had been enclosed within the walls of the Third City, any subsequent defences would also be planned to include it.

A number of buildings immediately within and upon the walls of the Fourth City were cleared both in the later and the earlier excavations. Professor Garstang has graphically described their destruction by fire and earthquake at the same time as the wall. Unfortunately, they produced little dating evidence. The only building of the Late Bronze Age which is published in detail is that known as the Middle Building in squares H6–I6. In his latest publication (see p. 104, note 1) Professor Garstang is inclined to dissociate this building from the Fourth City, and to consider it as a subsequent, isolated, structure. This seems a possible suggestion, owing to the unconformity of its plan to the general lay-out of the site. The published accounts make it clear, however, that there was pottery belonging to the Late Bronze Age in the layer which underlies it.[1]

The Middle Building was constructed on the slope above the ruins of the Palace storerooms (plan *J*.4, Pl. XIII). It was structurally a complex affair, for the actual building abutted against a heavy retaining wall which itself exhibits three phases. It is clear from photographs and from the published section (*J*.4, Pl. XIV, Section *m–b*, which is on the line of the north wall of the building) that most of what survived was foundational, and therefore was dug into the surrounding layers. These layers consisted of the upper debris in the storerooms and what was known to the excavators as the "Streak", which from the description is clearly burnt material washed down the hill. Both the upper debris in the storerooms and the "Streak" contained a considerable quantity of pottery which is discussed in detail in the report. Published examples of which the exact position can be ascertained from the publication are collected in Fig. 10. From the stratification it is quite clear that these have nothing to do with the Middle Building, but represent the pre-existing accumulation. For instance, Fig. 9.1 is specifically recorded at point *a* in room 39 on the section *m–b*, *J*.4, Pl. XIV (see *ibid.*, p. 114) at a depth which must be *c.* 1.50 m., below the existing ground level when the Middle Building was constructed. The date of the stratum is therefore presumably that of the Late Bronze Age occupation of the site.

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[1] In the publication referred to, Professor Garstang suggests that some confusion was caused by disturbances by the German excavations. This may well be so, and therefore in the discussion of the pottery, care has been taken only to use the examples which are described as in or below the "Streak", which was a well-defined stratigraphical feature, and cannot have been disturbed.

The material overlying the building seems to be exactly similar. In the field records, it is, however, noted that hardly anything came from the actual floor level of the building. If Professor Garstang is right in thinking that the building is intrusive, the overlying material may well represent debris washed down during subsequent abandonment.

This area would therefore appear to provide evidence for the pottery in use on the site in the Late Bronze Age. Other Late Bronze Age pottery was recovered from some of the tombs. Since some of this appeared to be rather later than that on the tell, it was suggested that it might belong to later, intrusive, burials. It does not, however, appear to be very much later, so it is not necessary to stress this. Only the discovery of more intact tombs will provide the cumulative evidence required to settle the point.

In interpreting the evidence of the pottery, use has been made of the results of the excavations at Megiddo, Tell Duweir, Tell Beit Mersim and Beth-shan. The detailed analysis which follows shows that the range of pottery has links with that of Megiddo, level VIII (1479–1350 B.C.) and VII (1350–1170 B.C.), T. Duweir Temple II (*c.* 1400–1325 B.C.) and Temple III (*c.* 1325–1223 or 1230 B.C.) and Beth-shan, level IX (1st half fourteenth century). The links with T. Beit Mersim level C2 (*c.* 1350–1230) are very slight, as they are with T. Duweir Temple III. The closeness of the material to Beth-shan IX is generally admitted, and both Professor Garstang (*J.6a*) and Professor Albright (*B.A.S.O.R.* 74) also link it with Stratum VIII. On the published evidence, it does not, however, seem to be very close to that from the later level, and the Jericho group can at most just overlap, but not equate with it.

The evidence of the published pottery makes it clear, in the first place, that none of the areas excavated were occupied in the thirteenth century, nor the tombs discovered used then. There is no trace of any of the comparatively well-known thirteenth century forms. On the other hand, it is clear that there was occupation within some part of the fourteenth century. Our knowledge of pottery makes it difficult to assign very exact dates. It would appear that most of the typically fifteenth forms are lacking, so re-occupation may have taken place towards 1400, with which date the scarab of Amenhotep III in Tomb 4 would fit. Conclusions as to a terminal date are more difficult, since it is clear that the closest parallel for the material is the unpublished pottery of Beth-shan IX. For this I suggest[1] a terminal date of 1350 but there is no evidence as to its initial date, and it does not necessarily follow that the terminal date of the Jericho material is the same. It is a question which only the cumulative evidence of more finds can decide as to whether the latest date, *c.* 1380 B.C., which Professor Garstang suggests, i correct, or whether, as the pottery would allow, it should be nearer the middle of the century. In the following section the relevant pottery has been assembled for convenience o reference, and the existing evidence bearing on its dating has been summarised.

The above discussion has suggested some modifications in the sequence of events, on the basis of the published evidence. But it has been emphasized throughout that this suggested revision is due to increased knowledge of the period since the time of the excavations. In the light of this same increased knowledge it appears that comparatively small scale excavations would settle the doubtful questions finally. Professor Garstang has added to our knowledge of the site so enormously that future excavators would know exactly what were the crucial points, and how they could be tested. This brings me to a final point, that no important site, such as Jericho, should ever be completely excavated in one enterprise. Increased knowledge and improved technique should enable each generation to amplify the results of their predecessors. Moreover, each generation of excavators should leave for their successors records as full as those of Professor Garstang, which have alone made possible this discussion.

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[1] The pottery from Level IX has not been published, and I have not seen it. Professor Albright, who has seen it, considers it to be fourteenth century. An analysis of the published Level VIII material suggests to me that it belongs to the second half of the fourteenth century, and it is on this basis that I suggest a date in the first half of the century for Level IX.

Notes on Selected Pottery

In the case of the pottery from the Palace storeroom area, selection has been on the basis of vessels or sherds of which the exact position with relation to the structures is mentioned in the text. No doubt much more of the published material came from similar positions, but the reference has not been located or is ambiguous. In any case, in each group the material is homogeneous, and additional specimens do not affect the issue. In the case of the later group from this area, vessels which are clearly Middle Bronze Age in date have been omitted, for they must be derived from collapse of debris as suggested on p. 111. From Tomb 4, all recognisably Late Bronze Age vessels have been selected from whatever layer, as evidence (see p. 116) as to the latest use of the tomb. The evidence from Tombs 13 and 5 appears to be similar.

For descriptions of ware, etc., reference should be made to the original publication.

Fig. 5 to *Fig.* 10 are extracted from *J.*4, the reference in brackets being to that publication.

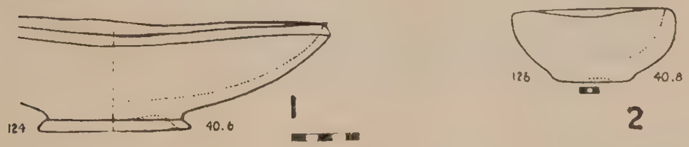

Fig. 5.

From level beneath storerooms

Fig. 5

1 (Pl. XXII.20). Large dish with plain, slightly curved sides, bevelled lip. This is of the general type which

is found in *M.B. I*,[1] and is similar to *T.B.M. Ia*,[2] Pl. 5.5, from levels G–F and *M. II*, Pl. 21.15, from Strata XIII–XI.

2 (Pl. XXII.17.) Stone mortar.

From original floor of storerooms

Fig. 6

1 (Pl. XIX.1.) A small narrow-necked jar with two handles below the shoulder. In form this is near *M. II*, Pl. 27.2, from XII, but the latter has painted bands.

2 (Pl. XIX.3). Dish with plain, very slightly curved sides, rounded lip, disk base. This type appears at Megiddo in Stratum XIII (*M. II*, Pl. 21.18) and lasts till IX, i.e., end M.B. I to L.B. I.

3 (Pl. XIX.5.) High-shouldered vase with pedestal base. This type is very common in T.B.M. levels E (*T.B.M. Ia*, Pl. 7.11–15) and D (*ibid.*, Pl. 12.9). At Megiddo it seems only to occur in X (*M. II*, Pl. 44.9).

4 (Pl. XIX.6.) Cooking pot with rounded base. This is the type which succeeds the flat-bottomed type which lasts on from E.B. to the beginning of M.B. II. At Megiddo it first appears in XII (*M. II*, Pl. 30.4) (it should be noted that the one example illustrated for both XII and XI is in each case from a tomb so the ascription to those strata may be doubful), at T.B.M. in level D (*T.B.M. Ia*, Pl. 13.11).

5 (Pl. XIX.8.) See notes on 3.

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[1] See note, p. 106.

[2] The following abbreviations are used in these notes: *T.B.M. I* for first report on Tell Beit Mersim in *Annual of American Schools of Oriental Research*, XII; *T.B.M. Ia*, in *ibid.*, XIII; *Lachish II*, T. I, II or III, for *Lachish II*, *The Fosse Temple*, by Tufnell, Inge and Harding, Temples I, II or III, *Beth-shan* for *Beth-shan* II, ii. *Pottery*, by Fitzgerald; M. II for *Megiddo II*, Seasons of 1935–39, by Loud; *M. Tombs* for *Megiddo Tombs*, by Guy and Engberg.

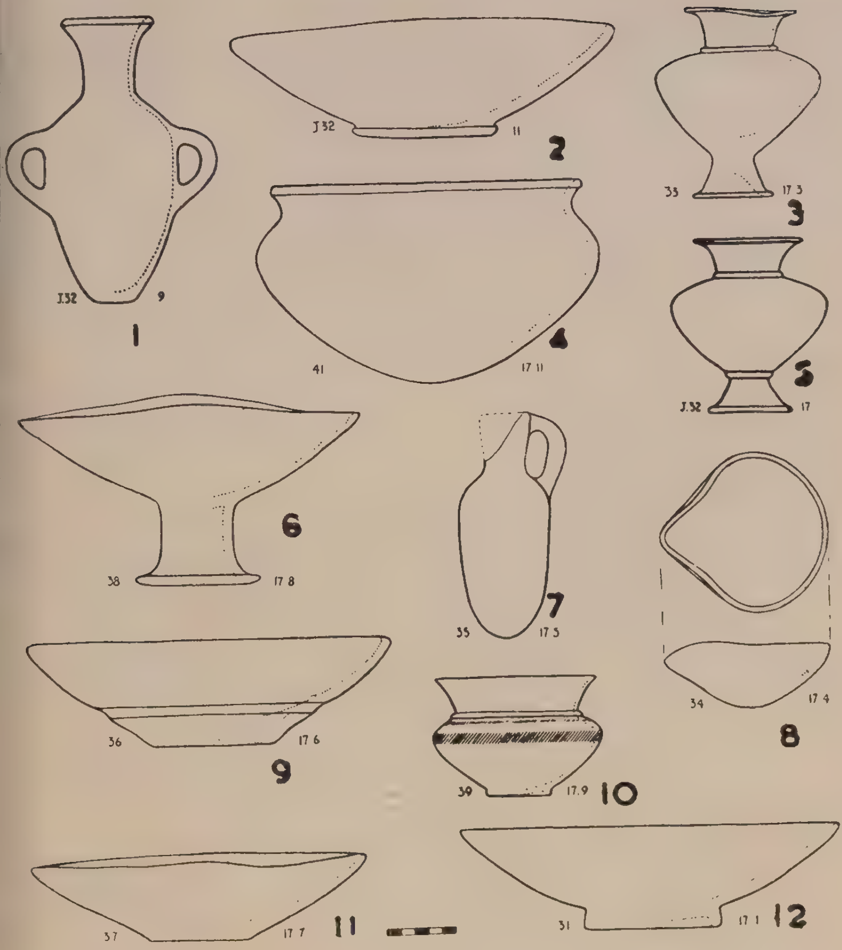
J.32
9
1
J32
11
2
33
17 3
3
41
17 11
4
J.32
17
5
38
17 8
6
35
17 5
7
34
17 4
8
36
17 6
9
39
17.9
10
37
17 7
11
31
17 1
12

Fig. 6.

6 (Pl. XIX.7.) Chalice with plain curved sides and pedestal base. At Megiddo such chalices seem first to occur in X (*M. II*, Pl. 44.30). Somewhat similar ones also last into IX (*ibid.*, Pl. 54.17).

7 (Pl. XIX.9.)

8 (Pl. XIX.10.)

9 (Pl. XIX.11.)

10 (Pl. XIX.12.) High-shouldered bowl with flaring rim Bowls of somewhat this type appear in stratum XII at Megiddo. (*M. II*, Pl. 28.10–12), but are mor common in XI (*ibid.*, Pl. 36.10–14).

11 (Pl. XIX.13.) Dish with plain, slightly curved sides ring base. Such dishes with a ring base first appea at Megiddo in stratum XII (*M. II*, Pl. 29.23–28) but the forms from X are considerably closer (*ibid.* Pl. 45.6–7, 9–10).

Fig. 7

1 (Pl. XXIII.1.)

2 (Pl. XXIII.2.)

3 (Pl. XXIII.4.)

4 (Pl. XXIII.13.) Elongated jar, with mouth nearl the same diameter as girth, two handles below shoulder. Fairly near *M. II*, Pl. 42.2, from Strat XII–X.

5 (Pl. XXIII.14.) Fairly tall, round-mouthed jug, wit handle on shoulder. At Megiddo jugs of this genera type have a range from stratum XII–IX (*M. II* Pl. 23.11).

6 (Pl. XXII.10.) Small, round-mouthed jug wit narrow neck and handle low on shoulder. Fairl near *M. II*, Pl. 31.8, from stratum XI.

7 (Pl. XXII.14.) Goblet with pedestal base, sharp carination and contracted waist. A similar goblet is figured from stratum XIV at Megiddo (*M. II* Pl. 15.10), from a tomb. None are illustrated from XIII and it may be that the ascription of the tomb to this stratum is misplaced. They appear in XII and XI and are most common in X (*ibid.*, Pl. 44.24–27). At T.B.M. the form occurs in levels E (*T.B.M. Ia*, Pl. 8, 13) and D (*T.B.M. I*, Pl. 43.6).

8 (Pl. XXII.15.) Juglet of somewhat truncated form. This may be the latest specimen illustrated. A similar type appears in Megiddo stratum X (*M. II*,

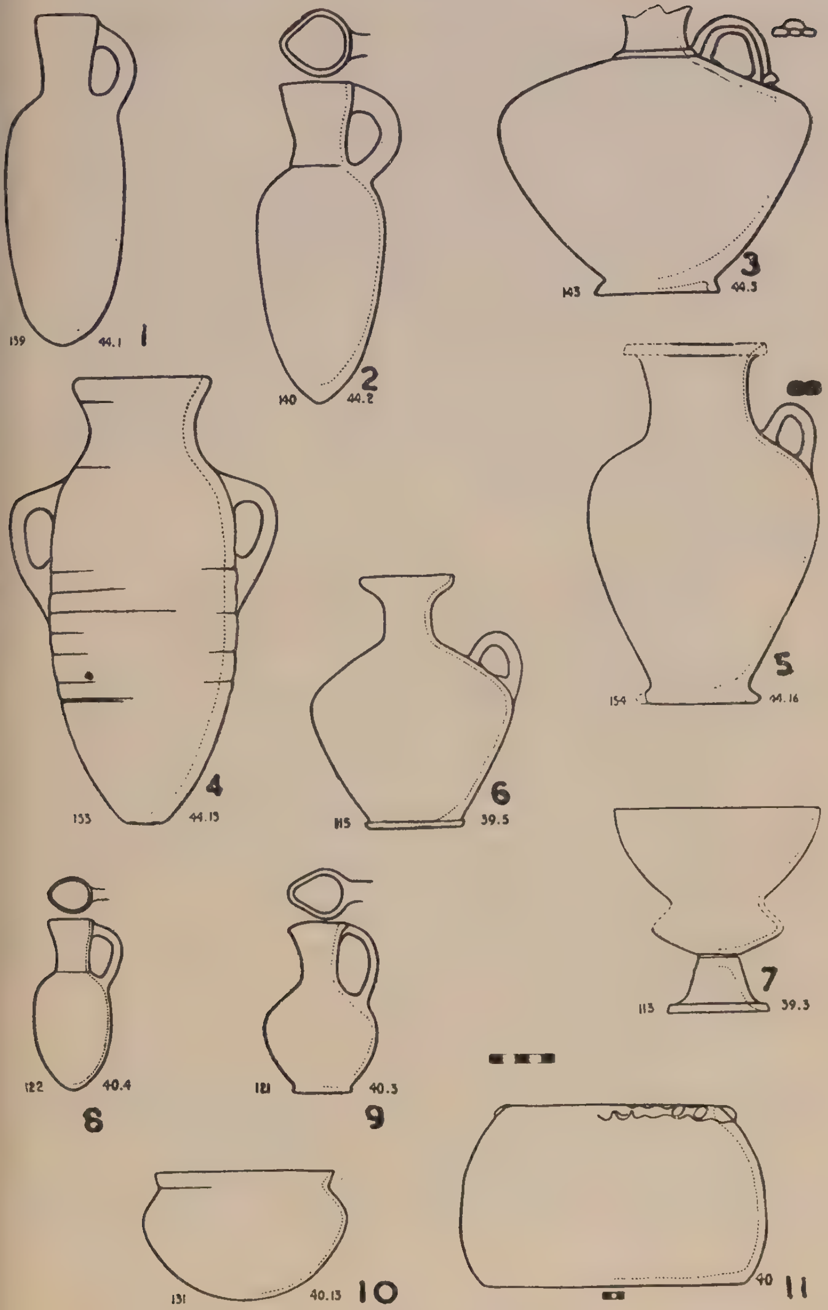
139
44.1
1
140
44.2
2
143
44.3
3
133
44.13
4
154
44.16
5
115
39.5
6
113
39.3
7
122
40.4
8
121
40.3
9
131
40.13
10
40
11

Fig. 7.

Pl. 41.15), but is very much more common in IX and VIII (*ibid.*, Pl. 50.15–19).

9 (Pl. XXII.16.)

10 (Pl. XXII.18.) Cooking pot with round base. See notes on Fig. 6.4. At Megiddo the form firs becomes common in stratum X (*M. II*, Pl. 36.5–8 and this specimen is very close to *M. II*, Pl. 46.6

11 (Pl. XXII.19.) Flat-bottomed cooking pot with applied band round rim. This is the latest development from the E.B. type, the plastic band having moved right up to the rim, and the holes in the wall having disappeared. It is very close to *T.B.M. Ia* Pl. 13.3–5 from level D, in which level there is a similar overlap of the flat-bottomed and round-bottomed types.

Fig. 8

1 (Pl. XXI.1.) See notes on Fig. 6.3.
2 (Pl. XXI.2.) See notes on Fig. 7.7.
3 (Pl. XXI.3.)
4 (Pl. XXI.4.) See notes on Fig. 6.3.
5 (Pl. XXI.5.)
6 (Pl. XXI.6.) Bowl with rounded side angle and everted lip. Bowls in which the carination has become as rounded as this do not appear at T.B.M. until level D, when they are common (*T.B.M. Ia*, Pl. 12.1–2, 5; *T.B.M. I*, Pl. 42.6).
7 (Pl. XXI.7.)
8 (Pl. XXI.8.)
9 (Pl. XXI.9.)
10 (Pl. XXI.10.)
11 (Pl. XXI.11.)

The specimens illustrated, and the parallels quoted, are sufficient to demonstrate the homogeneity of the material with that from the M.B. II levels at Megiddo and Tell Beit Mersim. At the latter site there is a gap after level D. At Megiddo there is apparently continuity from Stratum X to

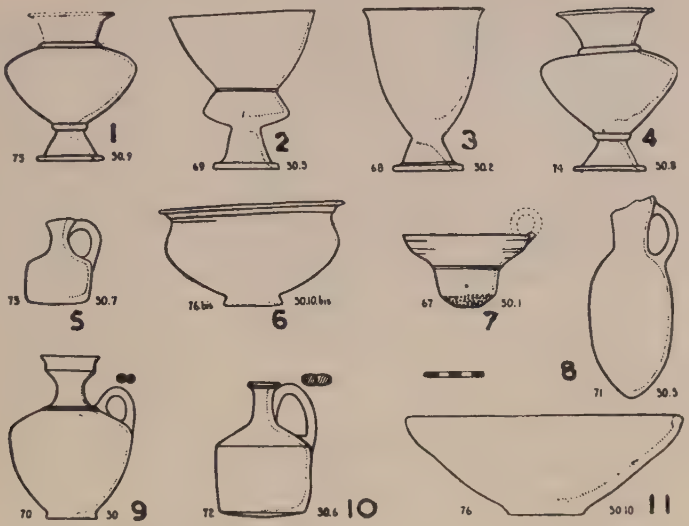

Fig. 8.

IX, with new types of pottery appearing alongside forms developed from the old types. The Jericho material shows no examples of forms which belong exclusively to IX, and this statement applies also to finds in the middle filling, which it is suggested above (p. 113) in fact represents contemporary material, and to the M.B. pottery in the Tombs. The terminal datings suggested for Megiddo X and T.B.M. D are respectively 1550 and 1560. That for the Jericho Middle Bronze occupation should be the same, and there appears to be no reason at all to suggest a terminal date of 1650–1600 as has been done by Dr. Schaeffer[1], unless we are to revise the whole of our Palestinian chronology, well-based on historical probabilities, on the grounds of his views of the chronology of Ras Shamra.

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[1] C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie Comparée et Chronologie de l'Asie Occidentale*, p. 149.

From the upper level above the ruins of the storerooms

Fig. 9 (N.B. The scale of the painted sherds is not indicated on the plates, but is apparently about twice that o the complete vessels.)

1 (Pl. XXII.11.) Plump jar with low girth, decorated with straight and wavy lines of red paint on upper part, two handles above girth. From point marked *a* on *J*.4, Pl. XIV, section *m–b*, and thus clearly in fill antedating the Middle Building. This jar is of the type compared to that found in Level IX at Beth-shan by all who have seen the material from both sites. For the dating of Level IX, see p. 122. A number of more complete examples are figured in *J*.3, Pl. XXII. 5–13 from Tomb 15. A vessel of similar form, but undecorated, appears in Temple III at T. Duweir (*Lachish II*, Pl. LIV. 343).

2 (Pl. XXII.21.)

3 (Pl. XXVII.9.)

4 (Pl. XXX.16.) Sherd of vessel similar to No. 1, *q.v.*

5 (Pl. XXVII.10.)

6 (Pl. XXX.17.)

7 (Pl. XXXV.5.) Rim and handle of carinated jar, decorated with straight and wavy lines of black and dark red. This type of carinated jar first appears at Megiddo in Stratum IX (*M. II*, Pl. 49.18). The walls of this example are, however, more upright than the Jericho specimen, and the rim less everted. An example from Stratum VIII (*ibid.*, Pl. 58.3) is much closer both in form and decoration. A similar form from Stratum VII (*ibid.*, Pl. 63.3) has the handle attached to the rim, and the decoration is not so close. A close parallel comes from Megiddo Tomb 855 (*M. Tombs*, Pl. 43.11), with L.B. I pottery.

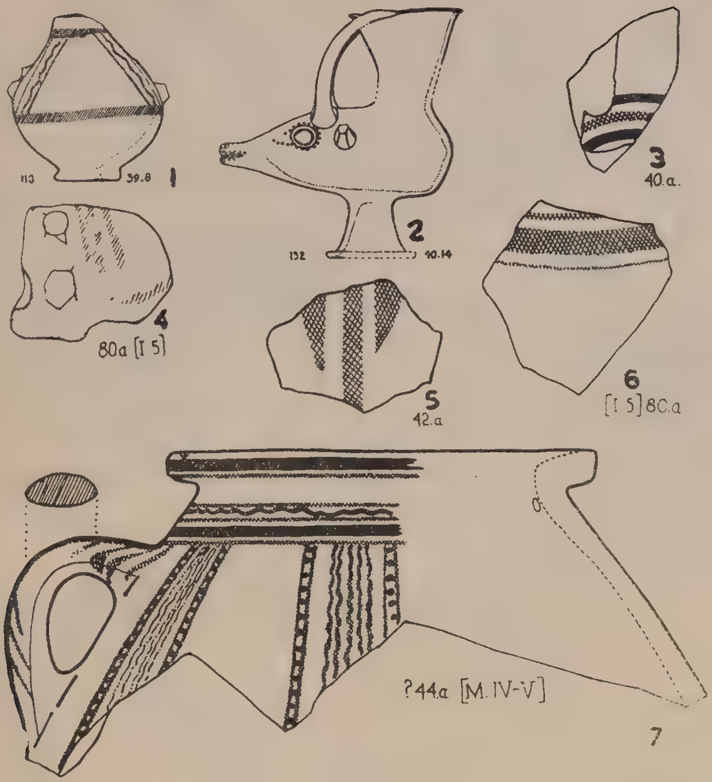
113
39.8
1
132
2
40.14
3
40.a.
4
80a [I 5]
5
42.a
6
[I 5] 8C.a
?44a [M.IV-V]
7

Fig. 9.

From the " Streak " of debris above the storerooms, from the part of the layer which is definitely said to be below the Middle Building.

Fig. 10

1 (Pl. XXXI.7.)

2 (Pl. XXXI.3.) Probably a sherd from a vessel, cf. Fig. 9.1, *q.v.*

3 (Pl. XXVII.15.) From a similar vessel. Cf. specially *J*.3, Pl. XXII.6, from Tomb 5.

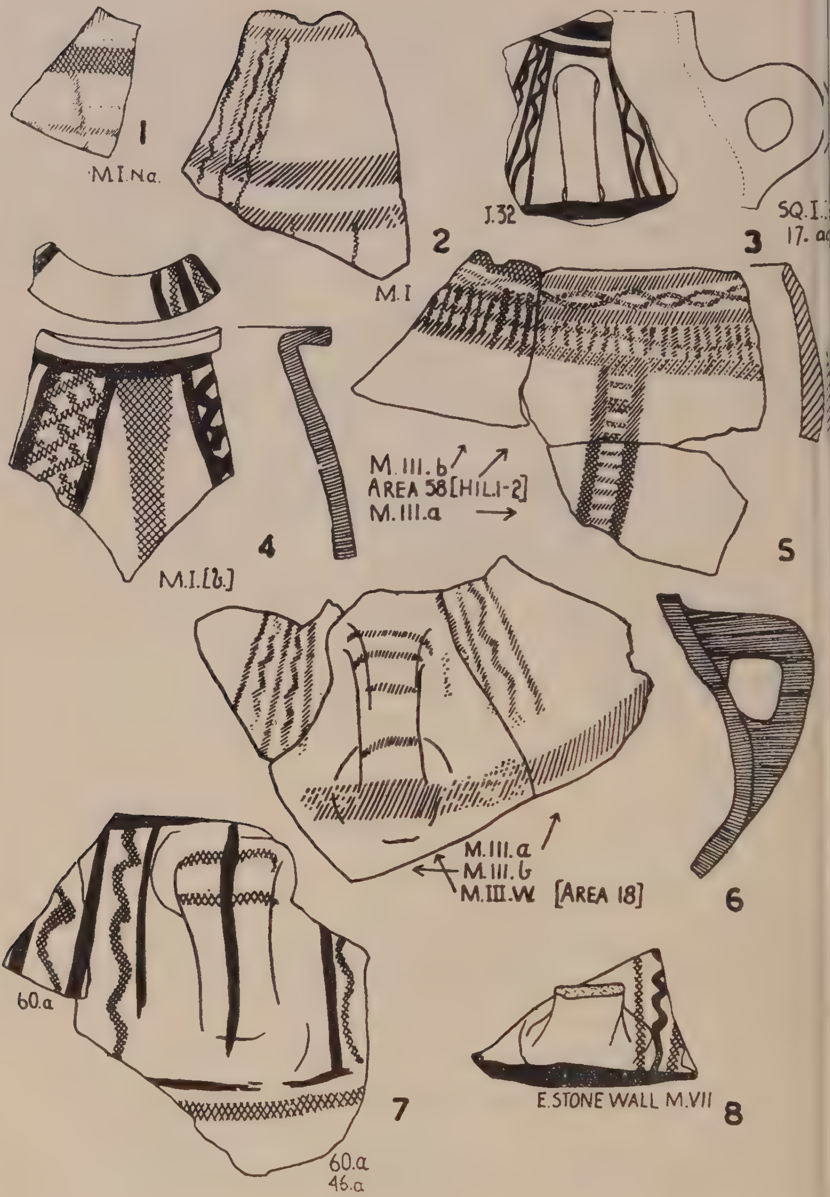
1
M.I.Na.
2
M.I
J.32
SQ.I.
17. a
3
4
M.I.[b.]
M.III.b
AREA 58 [HIL.I-2]
M.III.a
5
M.III.a
M.III.b
M.III.W. [AREA 18]
6
60.a
7
60.a
46.a
E.STONE WALL M.VII
8

Fig. 10.

4 (Pl. XXXI.8.) See notes on Fig. 9.7.

5 (Pl. XXXIX.1.) Rim of Cypriot milk-bowl, of White Slip II ware. From the field records, it is apparent that a considerable amount of this ware was found on the site. The Cypriot dating for White Slip II ware is 1400–1200 B.C. In Palestine it is typical of L.B. II levels. At Megiddo it does not appear in Stratum VIII, but a number of examples are illustrated in VII B (*M. II*, Pl. 65.25–27). In the tombs, it appears in Tombs 989, 911, 63E, 73, 1250 (respectively *M. Tombs*, Pls. 19, 30, 62, 64, 67), in each case with pure L.B. II pottery. The example from Tomb 1145 (*ibid.*, Pl. 49.23) would appear to be the finer White Slip I ware. At T.B.M., White Slip II ware occurs in level C (*T.B.M. I*, Pl. 46.20). Professor Albright (*ibid.*, Pl. 46) also notes that a complete vessel came from Beth-shan level IX. At Tell Duweir, six vessels of White Slip II came from Temple I, seventeen from T.II and twelve from T.III (*Lachish II*, Pl. XLIII).

More sherds of similar types are published, probably belonging to the same stratum, but only these specimens have been selected, of which the find-spot in the layers antedating the Middle Building can be clearly identified. As a group, the pottery has connections with Megiddo Level VIII (1479–1350), but also definite links with VII. The closest Beth-shan parallels are to Stratum IX (first half fourteenth century), but both Professor Garstang and Professor Albright have noted resemblances to material from VIII (second half fourteenth century). A terminal date somewhat after 1350 would therefore seem to be required, while an initial date round about 1400 is suggested by the absence of exclusively fifteenth century forms.

Fig. 11 and Fig. 12 are extracted from *J.*3, the reference in brackets being to that publication.

From Tomb 4

Fig. 11

1 (Pl. X.1.) From layer *a*. Imitation Mycenaean pyxis, with three loop-handles on the shoulder. No similar vessels occur in Megiddo Stratum VIII. *M. II*, Pl. 64.6, from Stratum VII B is fairly near, but has only two handles. They also do not occur in L.B. I tombs at Megiddo, but are found in L.B. II tombs, e.g., Tomb 63, *M. Tombs*, Pl. 62.19, with imported Mycenaean, White Slip II ware and vessels with linear painted decoration. At T. Duweir an example of similar form but with lug handles occurs in Temple III (*Lachish* II, Pl. LIV.343). No examples are found in Temples I and II.

2 (Pl. X.3.) From layer *a*. Lamp with pronounced fold at the spout. The spout with the square fold first appears in Stratum VIII at Megiddo (*M. II*, Pl. 62.1–4), and the type continues through VII and VI. At T. Duweir, the fold begins to appear in Temple I, but is not really square until III (*Lachish II*, Pl. XLV).

3 (Pl. X.4.) From layer *a*. Saucer bowl with red band round rim and cross in interior. Fairly near *Lachish II*, Pl. XXXVII.26, from T.III, and *M. Tombs*, Pl. 64.2, from Tomb 73 with L.B. II pottery.

4 (Pl. X.5.) From layer *b*. Plump, narrow-necked jar with two handles on girth. Fairly near *M. Tombs*, Pl. 51.9, from Tomb 1145 with L.B. I pottery. Professor Garstang illustrates a very similar form from Beth-shan level IX.

5 (Pl. X.11.) From layer *a*. Jar with side spout. A jar of somewhat similar shape, but with basket-handle and painted decoration occurs in Megiddo Stratum VII.B (*M. II*, Pl. 63.7). Professor Garstang illustrates close parallel from Beth-shan level VIII.

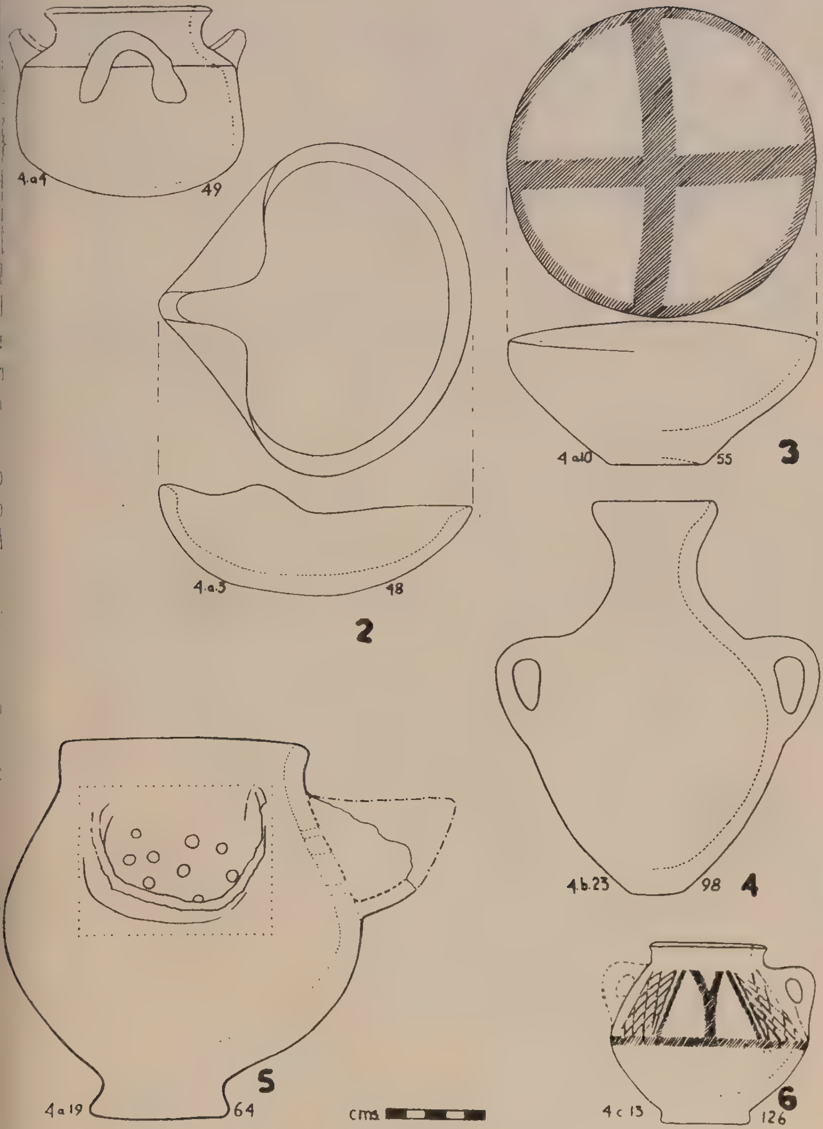
4.a4
49
4.a.3
48
2
4 a10
55
3
4.b.23
98
4
4a19
64
5
cms
4c13
126
6

Fig. 11.

6 (Pl. XII.9.) From layer *c*. Plump, round-mouthed jar, with two handles on shoulder and linear decoration. The type of decoration is similar to that illustrated on Fig. 10, and in general character the vessel resembles the group on *J*.3, Pl. XXIII which are compared to Beth-shan level IX. It is somewhat similar to *M. II*, Pl. 60.5, from Stratum VIII, but is more dumpy.

Fig. 12

1–6 (Pl. XI, 1–4, 6–7.) 1 is from layer *a*, 2–4 from *b*, 5–6 from *c*. Imitation of Cypriot Basering II jugs. From the description none of the specimens appear to be true Basering ware. A Basering jug with painted decoration somewhat like no. 6 appears in Megiddo Tomb 855 (*M. Tombs*, Pl. 43.8) with L.B. I pottery. *M. Tombs*, Pl. 56.8, from Tomb 8 with L.B. II pottery is nearest in shape to the Jericho examples, and its decoration resembles no. 2. A number of other Megiddo L.B. II tombs have similar vessels. No. 3 is fairly close in shape and decoration to *Lachish II*, Pl. LI.279 from T.III. No Basering jugs or juglets are illustrated from T.I, but they are common in T.II and III. Evidence for the chronology of imitations such as the Jericho examples is lacking, but the forms do not suggest copies of either very early or very late specimens.

7 (Pl. XV.12.) From layer *c*. Bowl or chalice on high pedestal base, plain curved sides, interior decorated with bands of purple paint. Pedestal bowls with plain dish walls appear in M.B. II, but do not appear to be decorated, e.g., *M. II*, Pl. 44.29–31 from Stratum X. The Jericho example may approach the L.B. II chalices. It is not unlike the chalice from Megiddo Stratum VII B (*M. II*, Pl.67.3).

8 (Pl. XV.13.) From layer *c*. Dish with slightly curved sides, disk base, decorated internally with red and blue bands. The majority of the L.B. I examples

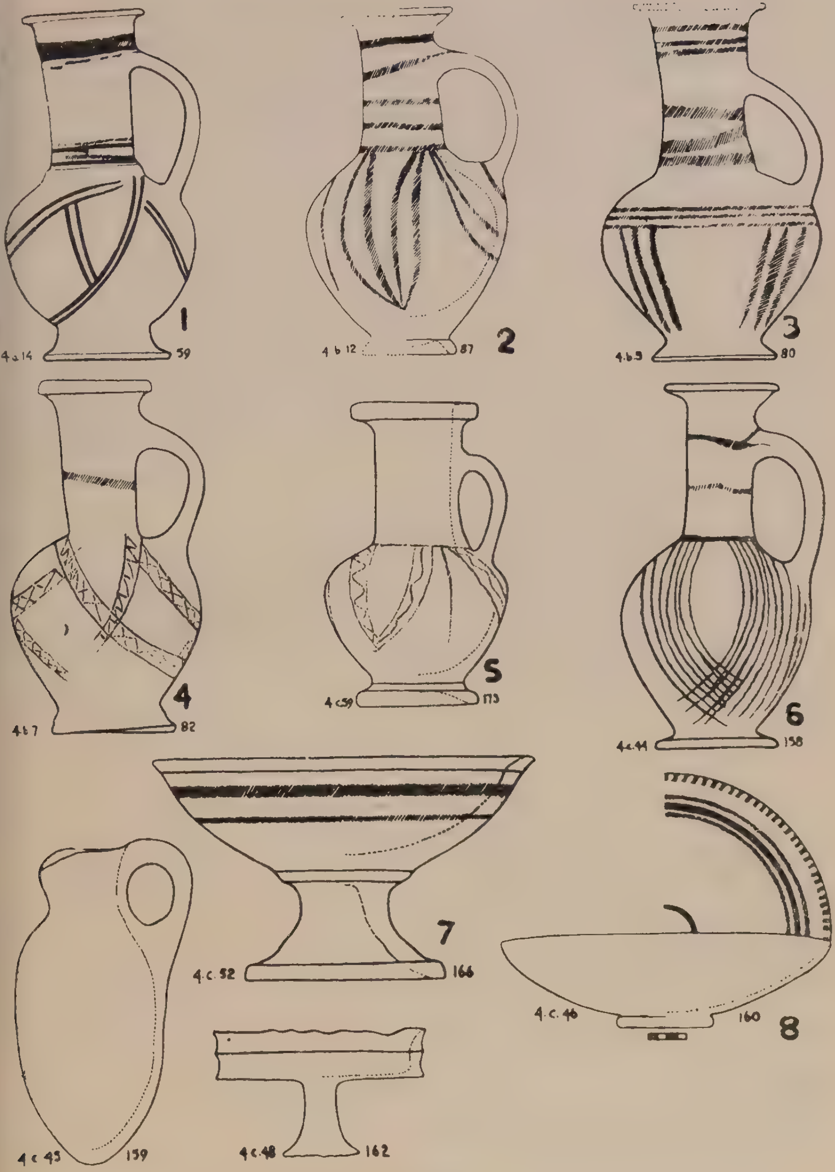
4a14
4b12
4b5
4b7
4c59
4c44
4.c.52
4.c.46
4c43
4c48

Fig. 12.

have elegant ring- to slightly pedestal-bases, e.g., *M. II*, Pl. 54.13–16 from IX. It is fairly near *M. II*, Pl. 61.17 from VIII, while the form is close to *T.B.M. I*, Pl. 45.5, from level C.2, but this is not decorated.

9 (Pl. XVI.7.) From layer *c*. Bag-shaped juglet with trefoil mouth. At Megiddo the type first appears in VIII, one example only (*M. II*, Pl. 588), and the general type is common in VII. In the tombs also, the type just appears in L.B. I, e.g., Pl. 42.15, from Tomb 78 (which also includes a jar which is the nearest approach at Megiddo to the Jericho-Beth-shan type, Fig. 9.17). It is not common until the L.B. II tombs, e.g., Tombs 73, Pl. 65. At T. Duweir, it only appears in Temple II (*Lachish II*, Pl. LII).

10 (Pl. XVI.8.) From layer *c*. Alabaster chalice. This type of stone vessel is common in the 900 cemetery at T. Fara, e.g., Tombs 975, 934, 981–982 (Petrie, Beth Pelet II, Pls. XLVIII–LVI), with LB. II pottery.

This group of the recognisably late forms from Tomb 4 thus also has connections with Megiddo Strata VIII and VII and corresponding levels elsewhere. It does not, however, include any necessarily thirteenth century forms, and from the contacts with the earlier levels may date to the second half of the fourteenth century.

The material from the two other tombs, 5 and 13, with L.B. pottery is not exactly similar, but in each case points to the same date. Tomb 5 contained the group of jars (*J*.3, Pl. XXII) compared with those from Beth-shan IX and other painted vessels of L.B. II type. Tomb 13 contained (*J*.3, Pl. III) an undecorated jar of the same type as the Beth-shan IX ones, three Mycenaean pots dated by Professor Wace[1] to the fourteenth century, and jar, no. 6, shown as undecorated, but this is corrected in the text (*J*.3, p. 18) similar to Fig. 11.6. All, therefore, probably fall within the same period, and within that of the occupation of City IV, illustrated by Figs. 9–10.

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[1] *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XXXVII.

ZECHARIAH'S CLIMAX TO THE CAREER OF THE CORNER-STONE

By Edwin E. Le Bas

In our previous attempt to unravel still further the mystery of the Messianic corner-stone, we saw that Zechariah foretells four separate features respecting its unfolding destiny.[1] In his fourth vision, he reveals three of these progressive stages: the vision of the stone seen by Joshua the high priest; God's intention to tunnel a channel to the cache in the heart of Mt. Zion in which this corner-stone lies buried, and, the implied prediction that this corner-stone is to play a prominent part in the purging of Judah (3.9). In the next vision, the fifth, we have the last of these four steps; we are told of God's intention to bring out this head stone from its stronghold (4.7). We resume Zechariah's contribution to our theme at this point. The text reads as follows:

> 8. Moreover the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,
> 9. The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundation of this house; his hands shall also finish it; and thou shalt know that the LORD of hosts hath sent me unto you.
> 10. For who hath despised the day of small things? for they shall rejoice, and shall see the plummet in the hand of Zerubbabel, even these seven, *which are* the eyes of the LORD; they run to and fro through the whole earth. (*Zec.* 4.8–10.)

These verses form the conclusion of Zechariah's enigmatical revelation of the destiny of the Messianic pyramidion. We shall find that the same love of veiled literary symbolism already noticed in the preceding verses, prevails in these verses also, and, if possible, even more strongly than before. Unless this feature be borne in mind the reader will most certainly miss the prophet's remarkable handling of his secret. For we promise the student a tortuous and cryptic Ariadne's thread ere we finally reach the climax and solve the mystery. As we follow this clue we shall touch in turn upon each succeeding clause in this closing section. This will prove the most straightforward approach to the prophet's riddle, the answer to which he so jealously safeguards throughout.

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[1] *P.E.Q.*, July Oct., 1950.

8. *Moreover the word of the LORD came unto me, saying,*

The opening word, " Moreover ", implies in Hebrew as in English, that the progress of the constructional programme just outlined is to be continued. Two arguments can be advanced in support of this anticipation. We assumed in our last article that since God is tunnelling a channel through the rock to the chamber in which the precious corner-stone lies hidden, that, therefore, it is to be brought out to light of day. This is abundantly confirmed just after, for God declares, " he will bring forth the head stone ". Supported by the soundness of this assumption, we now further suggest that just because the corner-stone is to be released, that, therefore, the final ceremony of its enthronement should also take place. This would be in strict accordance with sound constructional practice. Should a highly important stone destined for a prominent site in a new building, need special safeguarding, if prematurely delivered to the builders on the site, then it will be arranged that the stone is *not* despatched until the building is ready to receive it. This is especially true if the stone is already being safeguarded and utterly unreachable by man. We submit that we may also expect that since the prophet ends his constructional programme at verse 10, that, in consequence, not only will the corner-stone be laid but we shall also be introduced to this final ceremony. Analysis of the text can alone show how far these assumptions are justified. The promise made that

"*The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundation of this house; his hands shall also finish it*" (v. 9), certainly tends to support our expectations.

"*and thou shalt know that the LORD of hosts hath sent me unto you.*"

The implications of this unusual statement by the angel are significant. By this frank recording of the words spoken to him, Zechariah indirectly confesses that he has doubts about the possibility of the building being completed. It is not the only instance of such scepticism, for we read later, "*And they that are far off shall come and build in the temple of the LORD, and ye shall know that the LORD of hosts hath sent me unto you*". (6.15). It should be noted that the proof of the divine origin of this revelation is deferred until the future. There is no miraculous sign vouchsafed of its divine authenticity as was the case with Gideon (Jud. 6.36f). Sufficient that Zechariah receives and records the message.

Taking these words as a gentle rebuke of Zechariah's fears, it would seem that there is one conclusion to be drawn from them. It will be remembered that the rejection of the corner-stone was understood as being due to the fact that it would not fit the building when finished.[1] Since this failure was due, obviously, to the carelessness or other factor on the part of the builders, it is clear that Zechariah's doubts arose from the knowledge of the very serious deep-rooted character of the mistake, reaching down possibly to the foundations of the structure. It would seem that rectification would involve, therefore, the virtual demolition and rebuilding of the entire edifice—an inconceivable task.

It was doubtless to reassure the prophet on this point, however, that, at the outset of the constructional programme, God places the cheering words, "*Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the LORD of hosts*" (4.6). Thus, God pledges his personal intervention in order to carry out the project. Zechariah's account thus confirms to the letter the words of the Psalmist who, when recording the enthronement of the rejected corner-stone declares, " *This is the LORD'S doing; it is marvellous in our eyes*" (Ps. 118.23), the implication here being that a miracle is wrought ere the enthronement of the corner-stone takes place.

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[1] "*Was the Corner-Stone of Scripture a Pyramidion?*" P.E.Q., July–Oct., 1946, p. 113.

10. " *For who hath despised the day of small things ? . . .*"

Zechariah is not alone, apparently, in doubting the possibility of completing the building. He had doubtless envisaged only the limited resources at command. The angel, however, is thinking of others who take up a far more extreme attitude to the future triumph of the corner-stone. Their scepticism is so intense that they even mock the very possibility of such final success. The angel issues in fact a challenge, daring these extremists to accept it.

The Hebrew and the Greek differ slightly in their rendering of this ringing question. The Hebrew places the adjective " small " in the plural, virtually treating it as a noun and not as an adjective, no noun for " things " being used. The Greek, on the other hand renders it, " For who has despised the small days ? " (heméras mikrás). Both readings, although differing, are yet suggestive when applied to the corner-stone. We shall consider the Greek first.

The underlying thought of " small days " can only be fully grasped when contrasted with the term " great day ". This latter expression is freely used in Scripture to stress any outstanding epoch, e.g., " the great day of the LORD is nigh " (Zeph. 1. 14, cp., Jer. 30. 7; Hos. 1.11; Joel 2.11, 31). It is also familiar to us in the Greek as seen in the well-known passage from the New Testament, " on the last day, the great *day* of the feast," (Jn. 7.37). The contrast between this view of a " great day " and the prophet's " small days " is obvious. The same use of " small " in expressing any personal humiliating experience, is seen in English, e.g., " it made me feel small ". The LXX " small days " thus express a time of humiliation, mortification, contempt, and the like.

How applicable these words are to the fate of the rejected corner-stone ! The builders scorned its verdict and doubtless spurned it from their midst. Had any rumour reached them of its burial in Mt. Zion, this would certainly have added to their contempt, for it would only have intensified in their eyes, the " smallness " of its days: this, to them, would have been the end.

When we turn to the English rendering of the Hebrew, " the day of small things ", with its emphasis upon the possible triumph of that which is deemed to be truly small and insignificant, we find another truth to hand which equally illumines the destiny of the corner-stone. The Zohar —from which we previously gleaned the truth that the " seven eyes " was an established Hebrew figure for " seven disciples "—again reveals to us light upon the possible size and weight of the rejected corner-stone. It tells us that David used to carry the ancient stone of Hebrew legend, " the Shethiya ", or " Foundation Stone ", in his hands whenever he approached the Deity in prayer. He regarded it with especially high esteem, deeming it to be the rejected corner-stone.[1] This at once shows us that the Messianic corner-stone was not a heavy, ponderous block but one which was doubtless comparatively small and light to carry. It may, indeed, have been a sculptured jewel of surprising beauty and value. Notwithstanding its preciousness, it was none the less despised, partly, presumably, because of its striking revelation of the faulty workmanship of the builders, and, partly, because of its diminutive and, apparently, insignificant size.

Thus, whether we take the Hebrew or the Greek, the underlying note of contempt is present in both. This adds point to the suggestion of Lowe, Keil, Wright and others to the effect that the angel's challenge is, in reality, a negative command, " Let no one despise the day of small things ", or, " Let no one despise small days ".

Incidentally, one word in this defiant question has a marked bearing upon St. Peter's defence before the Sanhedrin, when, turning upon his judges, he accuses them of murdering the Messiah, " He is the stone which was set at nought of you the builders, . . ." (Acts 4.11). He quotes the famous rejection passage of the Psalmist, but there is no mention here of the scorn felt by the builders toward the corner-stone. Consequently, some commentators, such as the Century Bible, note that the exact wording is " peculiar ", not being found in the LXX of Ps. 117 (118). 22. Perhaps St. Peter is drawing upon his memory of the mockery expressed during the crucifixion by the chief priests (Mk. 15.31), especially when we remember the word of Papias that St. Mark received many of his details from St. Peter. In this case many might assume that St. Peter had intentionally inserted this feature into the Psalmist's verse. But, on examination, the word used by the apostle is seen to be *èxouthenéō*, while St. Mark's term is *èmpaízo*. Now, the LXX employ *èxoudenéō*, almost the identical verb to be found in St. Peter's charge. Thus, although St. Peter might be drawing on his own observation of the mockery at the crucifixion, there is a strong case to be made out for assuming his knowledge of Zechariah's reference to the corner-stone. The apostle was certainly familiar with other corner-stone passages (1 Pet. 2.6–8).

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[1] *The Zohar*, 1.71b–72b; see also A. E. Waites, *The Holy Kabbalah*, Williams & Norgate, London, 1929.

> "*for they shall rejoice, and shall see the plummet in the hand of Zerubbabel, even these seven, which are the eyes of the LORD; they run to and fro through the whole earth.*"

Before we examine this last verse, by far the most important and intriguing in this short section, there is one preliminary point to be settled. Are the persons who despise the day of small things, the same as those who rejoice and see the plummet in the hand of Zerubbabel ? Pusey rightly points out that to despise and to rejoice are contrasted feelings. Although this is true, this fact does not necessarily imply that these are successive experiences in one and the same group of persons. This is often assumed, as, for instance, by the Targum. In this case the question is the protasis followed by its apodosis. Keil points out, however, that there is no instance " of the indefinite *mi* followed by a perfect with *Vav consec.*" He, therefore, rejects this view. Psychologically, we may add further that those who despise the rejected corner-stone in its " small days ", are not likely to rejoice in its " great day ". As Lowe pointedly suggests, " it would be a strange thing for the prophet to promise joy to mockers ".

The fact is, that those who rejoice are not the mockers but the " seven eyes . . . of the LORD ", who, as we saw in our last article, are the seven spirits connected with the Messianic lamb mentioned by St. John the Divine (Rev. 5.6). Kimchi states that they are the ones who rejoice. In both the MT and LXX these seven eyes are, in truth, the subject of the clause, and the rejoicing is the predicate. We must, therefore, separate rigidly those who mock from those who rejoice. Those who rejoice are certainly not the " builders ".

The crux of our enquiry, one utterly unsuspected by the great majority of commentators now faces us. We refer to the various difficulties connected with the plummet in the hand of Zerubbabel. Strange as it may seem to the average reader who accepts the presence of the plummet as a normal building incident, there are, in fact, serious constructional obstacles to its use here.

(*a*) At the outset it is baffling in the extreme to find that Zerubbabel is carrying a plummet at a time when the release of the corner-stone implies that the building is about to be finished.

The plummet is *not* a tool used at the finishing of a building. The demand for a plummet is for the building of the walls from the foundation upward to the topmost course. After these have been examined and "okayed" by the architect or other authoritative executive, there comes the construction of the roof, floors, and ceilings, interior decorations, fittings, and the like. Builders largely disappear, and plummets with them, leaving the field for joiners, painters, decorators and other craftsmen who have far less need for a plummet.

(*b*) The constructional arguments against the use of a top-stone designed as a pyramidion, with which the prophet is dealing, are equally conclusive, and, if possible, still more so. This can be readily demonstrated by referring to the gable apex-stone mentioned in our first article.[1] This was designed by the architect and then passed on to the builders with instructions to erect the gable so that the topmost course would fit the apex-stone already cut and delivered. When the gable was finished, its uppermost course could be tested by carrying the apex-stone to the top and laying it upon the bed. But, supposing the gable summit were to be tested without doing this, then the following tools would be needed: (1) a builder's level to check the horizontal nature of the bed; (2) a foot-rule to see that the base of the apex-stone fitted the length of the prepared bed ; (3) a square to test the right-angle corners of both apex-stone and course, and (4) a templet to compare the sloping angle of both apex-stone and gable. The plummet would *not* be needed for testing the accuracy of the topmost course.

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[1] *P.E.Q.*, *ibid.*

Far more rigidly would this hold good for the enthronement of a testing pyramidion. Neither architect nor builder *could use* a plummet in order to fit a pyramidion on the summit of either a pillar, a pyramid or a pyramidal superstructure.

To illumine these points let us take the Tomb of Pharaoh's Daughter at Silwan, close to Jerusalem, erected doubtless at a time " when Egyptian influence predominated in Palestine, i.e., before the Exile "[1], or, perhaps, better still, the so-called Tomb of Zacharias not far distant. These tombs consist of two portions, a more or less rectangular podium surmounted by a pyramidal superstructure, still largely intact in the case of the latter. For the base, the plummet would be needed, but most certainly not for the pyramidal superstructure.

Considering, in face of the above facts, that we are dealing with the enthronement of a pyramidion as the head stone, and, moreover, with the fact that this is to be the finishing stone, the carrying of a plummet by Zerubbabel at all is, constructionally, perplexing.

(*c*) Moreover, it would be somewhat unusual for a director of works such as the civil governor was, to test personally the plumbness of the walls. No special mention is made of any constructional difficulty in which he had to give a final decision. The testing of a rising wall in a building is comparatively a straightforward task and one well within the range of a trained builder. Checking by the workman himself or foreman, is, moreover, continuous. The possibility of error is thus virtually eliminated.

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[1] *Architectural observations on some rock-cut tombs*, N. Avigad, *P.E.Q.*, July–Oct., 1947, p. 112f.

(*d*) Quite apart from these facts, there should, technically, be no need to test the building at all. The Psalmist declares that the corner-stone is finally laid by what is virtually a miracle. The faulty building was beyond the power of man to rectify: hence the prophet's doubts about its completion. If God, however, personally intervenes and rectifies the structure, all need for it to be tested by man disappears.

(*e*) The baffling presence of the plummet is increased by the fact that rejoicing takes place when Zerubbabel is seen with this testing tool in hand. This is the case because rejoicing in connection with building operations in Scripture, is associated either with the foundation of a building, such as the temple of Zerubbabel (Ezra 3.10), or with its completion and consecration, such as the dedication of the temple of Solomon (2 Chr. 7.5 f), and later that of Zerubbabel (Ezra 6.16). Unless, therefore, the rejoicing on the part of the seven spirits of God is connected with the finishing of " this house ", then it has no relation to acknowledged Biblical custom. In fact, we may express the dilemma thus; if the plummet is being used, then rejoicing, whether on the part of the seven spirits, the builders or the public, is premature; if, however, rejoicing is taking place, then, since Zechariah is dealing with a finishing pyramidion, the plummet is, in consequence, definitely out of place, as we have just seen. We cannot escape from this alternative.

In the light of the foregoing constructional difficulties, we must admit that the more closely we study the position, the more inscrutable does the reference to the plummet become. In stating that " this house " is to be finished, supported as this is by the release of the head stone, the fact that the plummet is not a tool usually associated with the completion of a building, seems to imply that the prophet is contradicting himself.

Now, so far our attitude seems to have been severely critical and even destructive. This has, however, been very necessary in order to prepare the road for a positive suggestion of the interpretation of the prophet's real underlying meaning of this apparently strange incident, constructionally so inexplicable. That some solution to these difficulties, however veiled, exists, is certain, for no re-examination of our criticisms shows any radical error or weakness in our attack upon the plummet—the crux of Zechariah's contribution. Moreover, the prophet is so intensely penetrative and his symbolism so profound, that our conviction of some underlying explanation of the position remains unshaken.

(*a*) At the outset, let us note that both the pyramidion and the plummet are testing stones. This at once gives a factual point of contact between them. This link is unaffected by the fact that the former tests a sloping, and the latter, a vertical surface; their function is basically identical.

(*b*) The constructional feature which struck us most forcibly is the next point to be noticed as we try to build up a constructive approach to this puzzling incident. It is the apparently trivial feature that Zerubbabel does not *use* the plummet for testing a single wall, nor does Zechariah record any symbolic checking of the character or workmanship of the builders. So irrelevant seems this fact that it has passed unnoticed by commentators. Its importance is at once seen, however, when we bear in mind the vivid contrast it shows against the use of the plummet by Amos. The reference is as follows:—

> 7. Thus he shewed me: and, behold, the Lord stood beside (Or, *upon*) a wall made by a plumbline, with a plumbline in his hand. 8. And the LORD said unto me, Amos, what seest thou ? And I said, A plumbline. Then said the Lord, Behold, I will set a plumbline in the midst of my people Israel; I will not again pass by them any more: 9. and the high places of Isaac shall be desolate, and the sanctuaries of Israel shall be laid waste; and I will rise

> against the house of Jeroboam with the sword. (Amos 7.7–9.)

So that the possibility of such a contrast may not be lost, we are also given a vivid picture of both the use and the non-use of two separate testing stones by Isaiah. In 28.17 we read:—

> 17. And I will make judgement the line, and righteousness the plummet: and the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters shall overflow the hiding place.

In both instances, the use of the instruments is clear and straightforward. The fact that the word translated " plummet " in Isaiah should be a builder's "level," another testing tool, does not alter the fact that in the verse immediately preceding, i.e., 28.16, the prophet has referred to the testing pyramidion buried in Mt. Zion. Yet Isaiah makes *no use* whatsoever of this testing stone, but *does use* the " line " (cp. our " chain ") and the level, this contrast stressing emphatically the static significance of the pyramidion.

The different attitudes adopted by Isaiah toward the pyramidion and the level should be sufficient to cause the critically minded reader to pause. Its relation to our enquiry is patent. We have here not simply Isaiah treating both of these testing appliances, the pyramidion and the level, differently, but Zechariah follows Isaiah's example and ignores the use of the plummet as definitely as does Isaiah the testing function of the corner-stone.

This course is not taken, obviously, because both prophets had suddenly forgotten the testing role of pyramidion and plummet. Nor is it because both testing stones had unexpectedly lost their testing property. The reason why Isaiah does not use the testing role of the pyramidion would seem to be that he knew it had already exercised this function when it condemned the builders. God had now buried it in Mt. Zion and would keep it there in safety until such time as He had rectified the faulty building and released the pyramidion with which to crown it. The prophet's attitude of ignoring the testing role of the pyramidion is thus due to the fact that never again will this corner-stone be called upon to exercise its scrutinising function, for God is now personally undertaking the correction of the builders' mistake. Now, Zechariah is throughout stressing the finishing of " this house ". It is thus highly probable that he deliberately pictures Zerubbabel plummet in hand, *but unused*, solely in order that he might further strengthen the bond between it and the Messianic pyramidion. For we should thus have two links in the chain which binds them together—they are both testing appliances and yet they are both unused.

(*c*) Strange to say, research speedily brings to notice other links in this suspected chain. One might mention in passing that the rejected corner-stone (to which the prophet refers in the challenge to mockers) is, according to the Zohar, a comparatively small stone. Is it a coincidence that the plummet, which is mentioned immediately after, is one of the smallest building tools known ?

(*d*) Far more definite is the link suggested by Kimchi, the well-known thirteenth century Jewish commentator. Referring to the plummet he writes: " The governing word to ' tin ' is left out; the complete form is ' *hāeben eben habdil* ' ". " The stone, the stone of tin ". We are immediately reminded of Isaiah's doubling of the word for stone " *eben* " to which we paid particular attention in our first article, where we suggested that it appeared to be the Hebraic term for a pyramidion, corresponding to the ancient Egyptian word for this stone, still known among the fellahin as the *benben*.[1]

(*e*) Another link is forged by the difference in the two names in the Old Testament for " plummet ". Amos uses " *anak* ". The Oxford Lexicon suggests comparing " words in cognate languages for *lead*, *tin*; etymology is doubtful, perhaps foreign ". Perhaps the Hebrews had borrowed it just as we have borrowed " plummet " from the French " *plommet* ", diminutive of " *plomb* ", " lead ". When we come to Zechariah, however, who prophesied some two hundred and fifty years later, we find him using, what has every appearance of being a far older and more primitive term. It is a composite name, *hāeben habdil*, the two nouns being in apposition in Hebrew and not genitively related as they would be in Aryan languages generally, including English. The use of the word " stone " shows its archaic origin, as in the case of weights, " Thou shalt not have in thy bag divers weights . . " (lit., a stone and a stone, Dt. 25.13). Zechariah has certainly some reason for choosing this ancient term in preference to the later one used by Amos. In view, as we shall see, of the Targumic rendering of this Hebrew term for " plummet " by Symmachus, we may confidently suggest that it was selected by Zechariah in order to forge another link between it and the Messianic corner-stone, the word " stone " being common to both.

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[1] *P.E.Q.*, July–Oct., 1946, p. 110.

(*f*) Once more are we indebted to Symmachus, this time for a highly illuminating alternative rendering of the Hebrew *bedil*, " alloy, tin, dross ". Since the verb is *bādal* " be divided, separate ", the noun means " originally *that which is separated* from precious metal " (Oxford Lex.). Now, whilst the LXX gives us the literal translation *tòn líthon tòv kassitérinon*, Symmachus, playing upon the root meaning of the verb *bādal* " be divided, separate ", ignores entirely the noun *bedil*, and writes of the plummet as *tòn líthon tòn kechōrisménon*, " the stone that is wholly separate, or set apart ", i.e., unique, the stone of distinction. He thus avoids all reference to the metal of which the plummet is made—a most significant feature for a would-be literal translator—and stresses solely the high dignity and rank of the " stone ". No one would claim that this remarkable ascription is true of the plummet, and the only reason for this liberty with the original would seem to be that it is a Targumic interpretation of the one and only stone of which it could truthfully be said, viz., the Messianic corner-stone.

This remarkable series of links binding the plummet and the pyramidion together overleaps the fact that the former must stand to the lordly pyramidion, much as a " poor relation ", in Charles Lamb's inimitable essay, stands to his wealthy kinsman. Yet, however great the gulf between them, they are treated in Scripture as indisputable members of th same clan. Bonds light as gossamer are seen, when tested, t be as strong as steel. The one thing which might conceivabl have broken this relation, would have been for Zechariah t have suggested that Zerubbabel was testing walls or builder with his plummet. This would have broken the chain at th outset. Instead, other links are forthcoming and nowhere i contact broken.

Facts such as these at once throw a vivid spotlight upo both of these testing stones. The stage empties entirely of al competing figures. The rulers of Jerusalem, together eve with Zerubbabel, likewise the two prophets who have set th scene for us, disappear and fade into the background. Wha strange factor is it which binds them together and thus claim our attention ? What strange alchemy is at work whic strives to transform the humble plummet into the very bein of its peerless overlord ?

We are driven to one conclusion and to one only. Jus as Zechariah is using Zerubbabel as a symbol of the Messiah as indeed his contemporary Haggai had already done (2.23) so is he using the plummet as a type of the pyramidion Zerubbabel and the plummet are ostensibly connected wit the newly returned and established Jewish communit engaged in the rebuilding of the temple. In reality, they ar veiled features of the Messianic kingdom yet to be set up o earth. They speak of the Messiah with his Messiani pyramidion in hand ready to crown the rectified symboli Messianic structure, thus becoming the head of the corner

Does this simple suggestion solve the enigma whic Zechariah has posed for us ? Apparently, it does. W cannot, however, assume that this is definitely so until th difficulties which we originally pointed out, are shown t have been utterly removed. Let us then briefly glance at them once more, this time in the light of this fresh point o view.

Our first difficulty was based on the fact that the plummet is not used by builders at the finishing of a building, but only until the walls are erected and finally approved. But, *f the plummet be a symbol of the pyramidion, then this practical obstacle vanishes. The pyramidion will be the last stone to be laid.* Thus, the prophet instead of contradicting general practice, as he certainly would do were the plummet literally intended, is leading us to the final enthronement of the finishing corner-stone. He thus confirms his own prediction.

We then had to face the unusual fact that the seven spirits were rejoicing at the sight of Zerubbabel with the plummet, whereas, rejoicing in Scripture over building operations takes place either at the beginning of such constructional enterprises, or, at their completion. The prophet is here, however, foretelling the finishing of " this house ", which fact supports the symbolic character of the plummet typifying the pyramidion. Thus, the rejoicing of the seven spirits, instead of taking place half-way through the building operations, as implied by the plummet, occurs, in reality, at its close. These spirits rejoice, in other words, because the " small days " of the rejected corner-stone are over, and the " great day " of its enthronement has dawned. This again fulfils the prophet's forecast.

When we pass away from these strictly constructional obstacles to the somewhat unusual statement that Zerubbabel is seen plummet in hand, there will be no two opinions about the fitness of the Messiah to carry His own Messianic symbol to the enthroning ceremony, for this is undoubtedly the symbolised incident behind Zerubbabel's carrying of the plummet.

Thus, from every point of view, the more we consider the original difficulties in the light of this fresh suggestion of the symbolic character of the plummet, the more strongly are we led to submit that this is the solution to the prophet's revelation. It solves the enigma which he seems deliberately to have posed for us, the climax tallying with the end of his constructional section in this verse.

. . . . . .

This brings us to the close of our examination into each of the three enigmatical references by Zechariah to the

Messianic corner-stone, which has occupied our attentio not simply in this but also in our preceding article. Suc being the case, we are now in a position briefly to summaris our suggested solution of the prophet's message.

Our last contribution dealt with the first two of thes passages, namely, the revelation of the stone to Joshua th high priest (3.9), and also the promised release of the hea stone (4.7). Taking the first of these, we can now see tha Zechariah was most anxious to establish its Messiani character. Clearly, this was to foreshadow the identity o the two following allusions he would have to make to it while still maintaining his cryptic method. It certainl proved invaluable to the writer, albeit it involved som departure from the customary treatment usual in the page of this magazine, in that theology was to some extent unavoid able. With the Messianic character of the stone established however, subsequent examination of the prophet's revelatio has been constructional and factual. The released head ston was thus seen to be none other than the buried Messiani pyramidion interred by God in a cache in Mt. Zion a declared by Isaiah (28.16).

This present article has been concerned lastly with th unravelling of what has been the most puzzling of all thre allusions of the prophet to this rejected corner-stone, namely to the plummet in the hand of Zerubbabel. As a result o our enquiry we have suggested that the plummet is in realit a symbol purposely introduced by the prophet in order t veil the identity of this same Messianic pyramidion. Th reason for this choice is largely hidden, but one suggestio we may, perhaps, be permitted to make. We cannot exclud the thought that the choice of this common-or-garden tool the plummet (which introduces such a bewildering feature i the finishing operation of " this house ") has, for its aim to teach us the sublime truth that one feature of the Messiah' divine majesty is His deep humility. Its possession b Zerubbabel affirms its Messianic relation.

It is thus to Zechariah that the honour belongs o revealing the closing stages in the unfolding destiny of th corner-stone. It is in the light of the closing incident in this series that we give the Targumic comment by Theodotion upon the cries of welcome which greet the appearance of the liberated head stone. It shows us how profoundly these early Greek translators grasped the secret of the final exaltation of the rejected Messianic corner-stone—the palladium of Israel. Theodotion carries us beyond the release of the pyramidion and even beyond Zechariah's vision of Zerubbabel with plummet in hand. The cries of welcome, " Grace, grace unto it " fade away. In their place we have a penetrating and beautiful thought, for Theodotion, grasping the speedy enthronement of the corner-stone now awaiting it as the climax of its chequered career, exclaims, " *Katápausis katápausis aútē* ", Rest, rest unto her.

FOLK TALES OF ARTAS—I.

By Grace M. Crowfoot

The stories told here were heard and collected under ideal conditions. While living in Jerusalem, I used, from time to time, to pay a visit to Miss Luise Baldensperger at Artas; we used to spend the day studying the flowers of the countryside, and in the evening we would sit on the terrace or in the living-room, with Alya, the old nearly-blind woman who lived in a cave-dwelling behind the house, and Hamdiya, who helped with the housework, and sometimes a friend or two who dropped in to chat and tell us the village gossip. At our request, stories would be told; Sitt Luise, as she was known in the village, and I, would take out our books and make notes of all we heard. Next day, while memory was fresh, we would compare our notes, discuss the stories, and another evening ask for the same stories again, or make enquiries about episodes or sayings not clearly understood. Here the long experience and knowledge of village life possessed by Sitt Luise was invaluable; she understood, as I could never have without her help, the real meaning of the stories, and was ready with equivalents for Arabic words in English, German, or her favourite language, French.

We soon realised that though many of the stories we heard had been recorded in Hanauer's *Folk Lore of the Holy Land*, many were new, or in interesting variants, and over these we worked again and again, till we were sure we had them in the version usually told in Artas. The stories were of several different kinds; most of them were told to children, for amusement or edification, but the women also enjoyed story-telling among themselves very much, especially stories bearing on village life, over which discussions would arise on questions of character or conduct, the consequences of man's own actions, or the fate which none can escape. Those present would often give vivid illustrations from their own lives, primitive, and even of the wilderness, for Artas is on the desert edge, and has much to do with the half-Bedu, the Ta'amre, who dwell there. In particular, the life stories of Alya and Hamdiya might have come from the pages of the Old Testament itself—Alya, the bride for whom a half-Bedu shepherd served seven years, and Hamdiya, who went with her second husband into Trans-Jordan, where they called themselves " brother and sister " for fear of the Bedu.[1] Alya, now long widowed, was a woman of great heart and the respository of all village wisdom; she was not in the least a professional story-teller, but she did tell a story well, and all her tales had a meaning or a moral, often rubbed home with an apt proverb or saying; Hamdiya's taste was rather for local incidents. All that happened in the village was dramatized, lived in intensely and relived in story of the " event ", whether long past or recent. More than once I received a shock when I realised that some primitive story, of bloodfeud, or the slaying by a brother of his sister found to be an unfaithful wife, had happened, not in the dark ages, but some few months ago. Besides these stories of real life and stories for children, there are many of Bible characters, especially of Abraham (Friend of God), Noah, Moses and Solomon and of the Prophet Mohammed, awesome tales of Ghule and other terrors by night, and a very few fairy tales of Sultans and Emirs, and of young knights and their adventures.

This is in striking contrast with the collection of stories from Bir Zeit recorded by Hans Schmidt[2]. Some of his tales indeed are like ours, short, pithy, humorous, and often with a moral, but by far the larger part are *Märchen* (fairy stories). Of the latter he gives a fine study, discussing both the resemblances of some of the stories to those familiar in other lands, e.g., many found in the works of the Brothers Grimm, and of Hans Andersen—and the garbled state in which they have arrived in Palestine, having travelled, he suggests, by way of mouth across the desert, perhaps from Persia or beyond. Indeed, this is a man's collection of stories told by men; it is always men who excel in writing—and also in relating—the story of imagination. That of Artas is a woman's collection, told by women, and instinct with a passion for reality.

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[1] For the full history of Alya and Hamdiya *see* H. Granqvist, *Birth and Childhood among the Arabs*, Helsingfors, 1947, pp. 24, 25.

[2] Schmidt and Kahle, *Volkserzählungen aus Palästina*, Göttingen, 1918.

The example I am choosing to tell first here is "The Prayerful Woman." In it we see a mirror of the perfect woman. She is pious, she does all in God's Name, she upholds the family honour, and above all she is ready in hospitality. She is a very Griselda for patience, enduring the waywardness of her husband, triumphing in the end by sheer force of character. The story following this, "Abraham and Ismain", also inculcates the virtues of hospitality; so does "The Guest," a story beloved by children. But of all the children's stories in Artas the favourite is by no means the most moral; it is "The Clever Cock". Near it in popularity is an old favourite in Iraq and also in Persia, "Little Beetle".[1] Our village beetle is a vulgar little beetle compared with her Iraqi sister, but a happier creature, and the Artas story-teller manages to extract from her tale a most unexpected moral warning to children who do not bring messages home.

"The Mole and the Snake" is recorded by Hanauer,[2] who connects it with another story about the serpent, who for its evil deeds had been cursed by Solomon so effectually that its legs fell off. What the mole had done to be regarded as harmful is not said, but villagers in Palestine believe their lovely little grey mole to be blind, as English villagers do of its little darker brother, and blind people, in the mind of Artas, are to be treated kindly, but with some reserve.

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[1] E. S. Stevens, *Folk-tales of Iraq*, Oxford, 1931. "The Blackbeetle who wished to get married", X, p. 40.

[2] J. E. Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, Sheldon Press, new ed., 1935, p. 213.

THE PRAYERFUL WOMAN

(*El Sammāt*)

One day some derawish passing by saw a ploughman. The master among them said: " Look at that man, what a fine wife he has ! "

" But how do you know that ? " asked his disciples.

" Look at his turban (*Lafftuh*) how neatly wound it is, and what a cheerful face he has. But let us prove it."

So they went forward and saluted the peasant. " Peace be to you, O ploughman ! " (*Salam alek ya harrath.*)

He returned the greeting, stopped his work and said: " Please come into my house " (*Itfaddalu fi beti*).

They arrived at the house, the wife looked out: " There are guests, welcome ! welcome ! (*Fi diuf ahlan w sahlan*). She ran to prepare for the guests (*tufrash lil diuf*). But in her haste she did not forget, when she prepared the food, to say "*Bismillah el Rahman el Rahim* " as a woman should do before she brings each good thing out of store. First she took the flour from the bin and then the semn, and then she made the bread—unleavened—for all had to be done quickly, but still she omitted not to name the name.

Now the derawish have power to see what the underground folk (*ahl el ard*) are doing. Beneath the floor of the room they could see companies of hungry spirits waiting to snatch away some of the good things and never a bite of food could they get. At that sight the derawish smiled, so laughable was it to see the hungry spirits weeping, all confounded by the power of the name. Now the master of the house saw the derawish smile as his wife waited on them and his heart was full of bitterness that the guests should smile so, as if mocking at her attentions. It must be some fault in his wife, she had brought shame on his house. Afterward he said to her, " Go, divorced one, to your family " (*Ruh imtallaqa li ahlik*).

Her relations asked her, " Why do you come ? "

But she would not tell them of her husband's unkindness, so noble was she ! (*assili khalis*). All her wish was to cover up the evil, this prayerful woman. She told them that her husband had allowed her to come for a visit.

Now the man married again. Sometime afterwards the derawish again passed by. " Is this the same man? His cloak (*abaya*) is torn, his turban awry, his face is gloomy. Let us see what this means."

Again they saluted him and again he invited them to his house. The house was not in order. (*El bēt mush imrattab.*)

" What's this ? " said the new wife, " What has stopped your day's ploughing ? " (*Shu hatha ? Shu ille battal el harath el yom ?*) But she had to get food for the guests all the same. Down below the derawish saw the hungry spirits waiting, and as the wife took out the flour and semn, and the rest, of each good thing they seized a part, and stuffed themselves and filled their leather bags until they were like to burst and at last, saving your presence, they broke wind with the weight of all they were carrying (*darratu bi kutr el kamilu*). This did not make the derawish smile, they were sad to see the house of a good man going to ruin. They asked him: " Where is your wife ? "

" I divorced her " (*Tallaqtha*).

" Why ? "

" Because you laughed while she made our meal, and I thought she had insulted my guests."

" We laughed," said they, " because the spirits below (*ahl el ard*) were weeping because of the piety of your wife."

So the man repented him and went humbly back to his wife. " My house is in ruin, come back, I pray you."

She turned to her family and thanked them for her pleasant holiday and returned home and all was as it was before.

This it is to be a prayerful woman !

ABRAHAM AND ISMAIN

Now Abraham's wife said to Ismain: " You must go away from here." And Ismain went out into the wilderness and he was very thirsty and he dug and dug with his heel (*kaăb*) and God sent him water and that was the well of Zemzem. And the Bedu came and pitched their tents above that water. Abraham's heart burned for his son. He said: "I must go and find out where Ismain is."

His wife said: "Swear to me that you will not get down from your horse."

He went and found the wife of Ismain in the tent by the water of Bir Zemzem. He said: "Where is Ismain?"

She replied: "He will be long away. How should I know?"

Abraham was not at all pleased. He said: "Greet Ismain and say to him: 'You had better change your threshold'."

When Ismain came back she said: "There came an old man who asked for you."

"What did you say to him?"

"I told him you were not here, and he said: 'Greet Ismain and say to him "You had better change your threshold" '."

Ismain said to her: "Go, you are divorced; you have insulted my father."

Abraham returned. He said to his wife: "I did not get down from the horse." Again another day he rode on his horse to visit his son. Again Ismain was not in his tent. He saw a new wife. He said: "O woman, where is Ismain?"

She said: "He will come soon. Be patient. I must prepare unleavened bread."

Abraham was pleased with that woman. He said: "Greet Ismain from me and say: 'Make your threshold firm.'" He went away pleased and happy.

Ismain came back to his tent. She said to him: "There came an old man with a shining face."

He said: "That is my father. What did you do for him?"

"I made him a loaf of unleavened bread and I made him coffee and he went away pleased and he sent you greetings and said: 'Make your threshhold firm'."

This is how to meet a guest. This is how God creates women.
(*Hek ille biddu yelaki el dēf*
Hek Allah bikhlik niswan.)

THE GUEST

(*El Dēf*)

The Prophet Mohammed, upon him be blessings and peace, said to his Companions: " Go before me to a certain man. I will follow you." They arrived at the house of the man, a rich one and a stingy. He owned two hundred sheep and goats, and he went to the first sheep and felt it—what a pity ! (*ikhsara*) he went to the second one and felt it—what a pity ! He did not want to part with any one from his flocks. He thought: " Let us kill the dog." He killed it and cooked it. Afterwards there came the Prophet, upon him be blessings and peace.

Supper was ready, the dish was set before the guests. The Prophet knew everything—all prophets do. He said to that supper: " *Ikhs ikhs wisht* ! " as one would say to drive away a dog.

The dog rose up and ran away outside. God cursed him, that stingy man. The goats became gazelles, and the kids hares, the donkeys became wild beasts, the cows became wild boars, the chickens became partridges, the pigeons became wild pigeons, the cats became wild cats and the dog became a wolf. All his animals became wild and ran away.

In the morning he looked round, there was nothing left to him. (*Fi subh dauwar maleki.*)

* * *

THE CLEVER COCK

(*El Dīk el Shātri*)

This cock went up to the dunghill where he found a grain of corn. He took the corn to the fellaha. He found her grinding, and said to her: " Will you not grind this corn for me, my sister ? " " Yes, certainly."

He went back to her. She said " Here you are. I've ground it." He said: " I want the grain of corn." " Very well, take this handful of flour." She put it in a rag and tied it round his neck. He went to the oven and found a woman rubbing the last scraps of dough from her hands.

" Take this flour for yourself ", said he.

" That's just what I need," said she.

He loosened his neckcloth and gave the flour to the woman. He went walking up and down. He returned to the oven. " Give me the flour."

" There is none, we baked it."

" I am the Sheikh of the hens. Give me the flour or I will accuse you."

" No, I am in your hands, don't accuse me. Take this loaf of bread." She tied the loaf to his wing. He walked up and down. He saw people ploughing, he went to them. " Will you take this loaf of bread ? "

" That is just what we want." They took it and ate it. He went away from them and came back. " Give me the loaf."

" We ate it."

" I want my loaf."

" Good, take this bunch of onions." They tied it to his wing and he went to think it over, going and coming. He saw some shepherds, he went to them. " Will you take this bunch of onions ? "

" Certainly, give it ".

He went from them, he left them to eat all the onions. He returned to them. " Give me the onions."

" We ate them."

" It is not right." He made an awful row. They were afraid.

" We are in your hands, don't be angry, take this kid." They brought a string and tied it to the kid and the wing of the cock. They walked together, the kid and the cock.

" Let us sit by the side of the road to see what goes on in the world." They saw some cows and their calves. " O Shepherds, take this kid." They said, " We are craving for meat." They made a shepherd's oven (*zarb*) and ate the kid. After three or four days he returned. " Give me the kid."

" We ate it."

" What do I care ? Give me the kid."

" We ate it."

" I will accuse you. I am the Sheikh of the hens."

They were afraid of him. " Take this calf instead of the kid." They put the string on the little calf instead of the kid. They walked together, that calf and that cock.

" Go on, let us go to those buffaloes." They went together. He said to the cowherd, " Take this calf."

" My daughters are craving for meat."

He gave them the calf and went away to think it over and walk up and down before the hens. He went back to the buffaloes. " O cowherd, give me the calf."

" My daughter ate it."

" Is such a thing permitted ? " He made a tremendous row. " I want that calf."

" See, O cock, take this buffalo." He tied the string to the wing of the cock. They walked away together, the cock and the buffalo. After this he saw a man. He said to the man, " Take this buffalo."

" I will take it." He went away and returned the next day. " Give me the buffalo." There was a wedding, the guests were many, they took the buffalo.

" Give me the buffalo."

" We have eaten it."

" It isn't right. This time it is a great matter. I shall accuse you."

" I am in your hands, don't scream so, there are still guests with us. We will give you a bride." He gave his daughter as a bride to the cock.

" The grain of corn gave me the flour, the flour gave me the loaf, the loaf gave me a bunch of onions, the onions gave a kid, and the kid gave a calf, and the calf gave a buffalo and the buffalo gave me the bride."

Kikeriki
I am the rare cock
I am the clever cock.
(*Ana el dīk el nādri*
Ana el dīk el shātri.)

LITTLE BEETLE

(*Khunufsane*)

There was a little beetle and her mother. The daughter said to her mother: " I want to marry a husband." She sat down in the road. A shepherd came by; the shepherd said to her: " Get out of the road or the sheep will crush you." She said to the shepherd: " You are a beetle, your mother is a beetle, and your cousin a slave girl. I am the daughter of Irdene and my eyes are black with kohl. (*Ente khunfus ummak khunfus w el ăbde bint ammak. Ana bint irdene w el kohl mala eini.*) I am sitting in the road to find me a husband."

He said to her: " Marry me."

She said: " Put gold in my sleeve and I'll go and see what my mother says." She told her mother. " He has a big big head and big big hands and big big feet." Her mother said: " Give up that one, you don't want him."

Next day she sat in the road. The cowherd came by. He said to the little beetle: " Get out of the way or you'll be run over." She said to him: " You are a beetle, your mother is a beetle and your cousin a slave girl. I am the daughter of Irdene and my eyes are black with kohl. I am sitting in the road to find me a husband."

He said to her: " Marry me."

She said: " Put gold in my sleeve and I'll go and see what my mother says." She told her mother: " He has a big big head and big big eyes and big big feet and big big hands." Her mother said: " Don't marry him."

Next day she sat in the road. The cameleer passed by. He said to her: " Get out of the way or the camels will crush you."

She said to him: " You are a beetle, your mother is a beetle and your cousin is a slave girl. I am the daughter of Irdene and my eyes are black with kohl. I am sitting in the road to find me a husband."

He said to her: " Marry me."

She said: " Put gold in my sleeve and I'll go and see what my mother says." She told her mother : " He has a big big head and big big eyes and big big feet and big big hands." Her mother said: "Give him up."

That was the third time. Next day she went to the mouse's run. The mouse came by: "Get out of the way or you will be crushed."

She said: "You are a beetle, and your mother is a beetle and your cousin is a slave girl. I am the daughter of Irdene and my eyes are black with kohl. I am sitting in the road to find me a husband."

He said to her: "Marry me."

She said to him: "Put gold in my sleeve and I'll go and see what my mother says about it." She said to her mother: "O mother, he has a tiny little head, and tiny little eyes and tiny little hands and tiny little feet." Her mother said: "Sleep on a bed to your own measure, my daughter, take this one."

So she took him. The little beetle married the mouse. Afterwards she said: "I must go and draw water."

Her husband said: "I am afraid you may tumble into the well."

She said: "But how shall we drink?" She went to draw the water and fell into the well. There passed by a mare and its rider (*hal faras w hal faris*). The little beetle said:

"O owner of the mare and foal
Which has the tinkling bells
Tell the mouse, the mouse's son
Little beetle fell in the well
May you stick to the mat
If you don't tell him that."
(*Ya ra'i el faras w el farfasanne*
Yalli ihjulha kharkhashanne
Qul lil far ibn el fire
El khunfus wiqa' fil bire
In ma qultish bitlazik fil hasire.)

He forgot, and he was sitting in the "men's club" (*saha*) and he got up to go. The mat came up with him! He said: "O all here! I was passing by a well and someone said in the well:

"O owner of the mare and foal
Which has the tinkling bells
Tell the mouse, the mouse's son
Little beetle fell in the well
If you don't tell him that
May you stick to the mat."

And I am stuck to the mat! That is what happens to one who does not give the message (*Hek ille ma biyati khabbar*).

The mouse in his hole heard everything and he ran to the well and let his tail down and pulled the little beetle out, and they went away together as young folks do.

The Mole and the Snake

(*El Khlund w el Haya*)

Solomon the Ruler went to visit Syria, for a change of air (*yeshim el hawa*). The mole heard that Solomon was in Syria. She came to lay a complaint: "Why, O Ruler, have I no eyes like other creatures?"

Solomon replied, saying: "This is not the place of judgment—the judgment seat is in Jerusalem the noble (*El Quds el Sherif*), there is my throne."

Afterwards the snake also learnt that the famous Ruler was in Syria. She came and complained: "O Ruler of the age (*Hakim ez-Zaman*), "why have I no feet like other creatures?"

He gave an answer like unto he gave to the mole. "O Snake, O Mole, meet me in Jerusalem, there is my throne."

Now Solomon had a noble steed, one with four kidneys, as the saying is. He rode like the wind, he reached his throne. He found the mole and the snake waiting there for him. No need to send back for them. They were rested and pleased (*Mitraihin w mkeiyifin*). Solomon said to the mole: "You arrived before my horse could. If you had eyes you would ruin the world. God preserve us from your evil." So also he said to the snake: "You arrived before my horse could. If God had created you with feet you would ruin the world. God preserve us from your evil." And he drove them from the judgment seat.

ARSLAN TASH (ROCK OF THE LION)

By H. T. Norris

An interesting day excursion from Aleppo is to the site of Arslan Tash. The easiest route crosses the Euphrates at Jerablus and then continues parallel to the Turkish frontier as far as Ein al 'Arab. Strictly speaking this is Jezira but no permit is necessary for non-Syrians to visit Ein al 'Arab or Arslan Tash and help and courtesy are forthcoming from the Syrian military at Ein al 'Arab. En route several Tells and villages are passed and here and there in the shingle adjoining the river rolled Paleolithic implements can be found (e.g., Fig. 1). The vast majority appear to be Middle Paleolithic in type and as far as is possible to judge more Levalloisian than Mousterian.

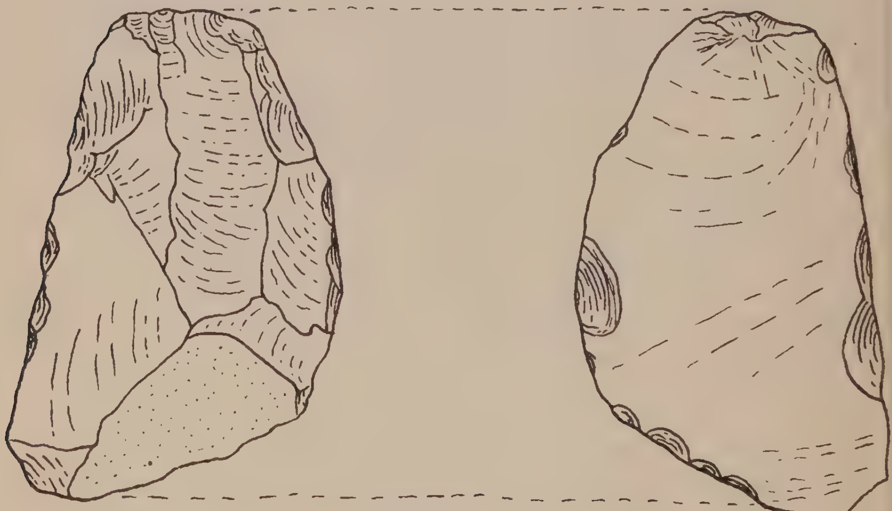

Fig. 1. Rolled flake from Euphrates near Jerablus. (Actual size.)

Arslan Tash itself is 9 kms. S.E. of Ein al 'Arab and lies in the plain of Seroudj. It is a Kurdish village of mud built beehive-dome cottages and it stands inside the ancient town perimeter. During summer most of the population live in lofty tents which are erected outside the village. A sort of habitation transference appears to follow in seasonal regularity in conjunction with the grazing of cattle. The earth is fertile and the crops include corn and barley. Nearby artificial irrigation also maintains sorghum and hemp. To the south of the village and the road from Aleppo an arid basalt region divides the fertile plain from the northern desert fringe.

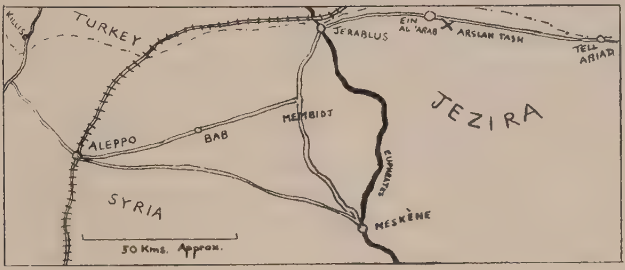

Fig. 2. Map of Jerablus district.

From archaeological evidence the site appears to be that of the city of Hadatu and lies on the route between the Euphrates, Syria and Assyria. It passes through Jezira and Harran and stops at Tell Ahmar on the east bank of the river. During the Assyrian period it appears to have been a military post and opinion favours Tiglath Pileser as prime builder and who like certain of his predecessors, e.g., Shalmaneser III, erected royal residences in diverse points of the Assyrian domains.

Arslan Tash derives its name from two standing lion sculptures which were first recorded by the Chesney expedition in 1850. These same lions are referred to in Garstang's "Land of the Hittites." Two campaigns were spent on the site in 1928 under the directorship of M. Thureau Dangin and its ancient name Hadatu was discovered from relief inscriptions. The site was protected by a circular brick wall defence on a stone foundation and this was followed as a contour save in the region of the East gate near the modern village cemetery. Even today this outline is still visible in spite of continuous erosion (Pl. XVIII, fig. 1). The city had three gates (to the North, West and East) and these were guarded by lions and reliefs. At the East gate two lions were found, one upright and the other on its side (the two most conspicuous features of the site today). According to Thureau Dangin these " can bear comparison with the best products of Assyrian animal sculpture; for example with the celebrated lion of Ashur-Nasir-Pal found at Nimrud (Pl. XVIII, fig. 2)." The upright lion is certainly a " tour de force " with its five legs powerfully carved although the muzzle appears somewhat top-heavy. The surface has been worn by wind and weather. During the excavations, two emblems, varieties of the swastika, were found on the shoulder (seen also on the lions discovered in the excavation of the temple). This form of design can be observed on the lions depicted in the hunting scenes which adorned the walls of the palace of Ashur-Nasir-Pal at Nimrud. It appears to be a solar emblem probably of Babylonian origin, there being an astrological relation between the lion and the sun. Very faded remains of inscriptions across the body could also once be observed. The second lion is on its side with its head and rear missing and its flat top an excellent drying surface for lumps of dung !

In the interior of the fortification excavation revealed that the main Tell contained a Palace upon which, at a later period, a greco-oriental temple of the III–II centuries B.C. had been built. The palace was in the nature of a private residence of an Assyrian King and during the excavation several epochs of changes and palace rebuildings were revealed. The last and best preserved of the palaces had been attributed to Tiglath Pileser III, only it seems because the site conserved the remains of a temple constructed by this sovereign and because the gate reliefs were also of the same period. Parrot is sceptical although he admits the responsibility of Tiglath Pileser III for the erection and decoration of certain of the edifices. Although himself admitting that the evidence he points out is not enough, he comments on the similarity between the plan of the throne room of Arslan Tash and the plan of the similar room and rooms at Khorsabad. This, however, was not enough by itself to indicate the hand of Sargon.

The crude brick Palace was large but simple and orientated by its faces to the points of the compass. It was rectangular in plan measuring 150 m. down its long sides (the north and the south). Its west gate entrance gave access to a forecourt elaborately provided with drains and paved with basalt slabs. Simple buildings to north, west and south bordered the commoners' forecourt. To the east access was given to the royal apartments and the throne room. To the north and north-west of a large court were the rooms for the King and the harem, so placed as to catch the cool or cold northern winds from the mountains (the same reason which today compels the humble Kurdish houses to have the doors facing the other direction). Luxury was the key-note and several bathrooms were discovered. All the public and private rooms of the royal apartments received the same style of painted decoration; a polychrome freize of geometric pattern, painted in a continuous band 78 cms. wide with cobalt blue and Indian red as the dominating colours. A most pleasing effect is produced by the alternating circles and four-pointed star designs running along a continuous band.

Both chronology of the site itself and the development of Assyrian art were helped by the discovery of a building which contained the now famous Arslan Tash ivories. Over 100 pieces were recovered which once probably decorated a throne or beds or similar furniture. One fragment bearing an inscription in Aramean mentions Hazael. Thureau Dangin sees in these objects part of the booty taken from Ben Hadad III, successor to Hazael by his vanquisher Adad Nirari III (785–782 B.C.). This war tribute would consequently have been carried to Arslan Tash and deposited in the royal residence. The latter would then date from the end of the IX c., perhaps as old as Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.). Some of the ivories may have been made at Damascus, others perhaps by Phoenician craftsmen, others influenced by Cypriotes or Egyptians. The subjects shown, closely parallel ivories from Nimrud and Samaria and depict such Egyptian themes as the Birth of Horus, the sacred tree flanked by two female genii crowned with Egyptian tiaras and the head of a woman looking from an open window. Some, in particular the bearded figures, show local Damascus work while some of the lion heads might be Hittite or Mesopotamian in style. In the Aleppo Museum are several fine examples of the cow and calf motive, Egyptian in influence but in feeling and in treatment almost comparable with certain Magdalenian bâtons and bone carving from France.

At about 130 m. south-east of this building was found a ruined construction. Little coherent plan was obtained during the course of the excavations, but by means of an inscription on a bull it was identified with the sanctuary of Ishtar built by Tiglath Pileser III (745–727 B.C.). Among the remarkable statuary excavated were two bulls, two lions, a statue depicting the God Hadad standing upright on a galloping bull, and several statues of a God carrying a coffer. Parrot points out that the vast bulk of this statuary belongs to a different cult than Ishtar and perhaps it indicates two temples on the spot. He recalls that only one of the bulls (animal symbolic of Adad) was dedicated to Ishtar by Tiglath Pileser and that indications suggest a possible sanctuary consecrated to this deity. In spite of the high quality of much of the Arslan Tash sculpture (e.g., fragment of a lion in Plate XIV (2) from " Arslan Tash " of Thureau Dangin) in others there is a certain clumsiness with a tendency for figures to be short and plump especially soldiers and warriors and many of the horses seem small compared with their riders.

Apart from the two lions and outlines of the ramparts little is left above ground and Aleppo Museum is by far the best place to gain an idea of the richness of the site. Two Tells to the North and East of Arslan Tash, however, are of some interest and surface pottery and flints gathered give an idea of the date. Tell Hajib dominates the road to the east. It is a very high Tell indeed, completely dominating the modern village of that name and the surrounding plain. Surface pottery collected all shows a latish date, roughly Iron Age onwards with a few Hellenistic pieces. The other Tell, Tell Omer, is immediately to the north of Arslan Tash, about

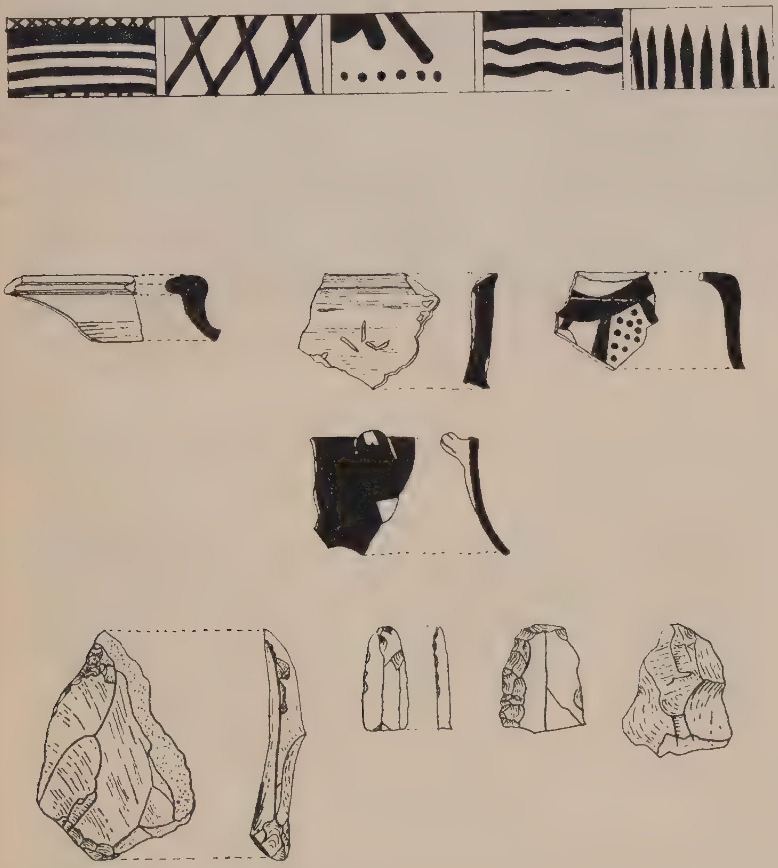

Fig. 3. Tell Halaf pottery designs, flints, and specimen pottery types.

three-quarters of a mile distant. It is shallow, very small and has been considerably ploughed. Here there is an abundance of pottery and flints of varying date but the vast majority early. Some of the coarse hand-made red polished ware is quite possibly Neolithic and this probability is further strengthened by the presence of an obsidian industry, microlithic in size and neolithic in type.

Of equal interest are variations of Tell Halaf and similar ware strewn on the site, dark brown on creamish slip and finer polychrome (red-brown and yellow) wheel-made ware probably late.* There is an abundance of waste flake material struck by a side-blow off a core and these may be of any period as some are totally unpatinated. (Fig. 3.) Other Tells near Ein al 'Arab look interesting and the whole plain is dotted with them. It is remarkable, however, to find such an assembly of periods represented within such a small radius.

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* I am indebted to Miss V. Seton Williams, Miss M. Munn-Rankin and Mr. Barnett of the British Museum for the identification of these.

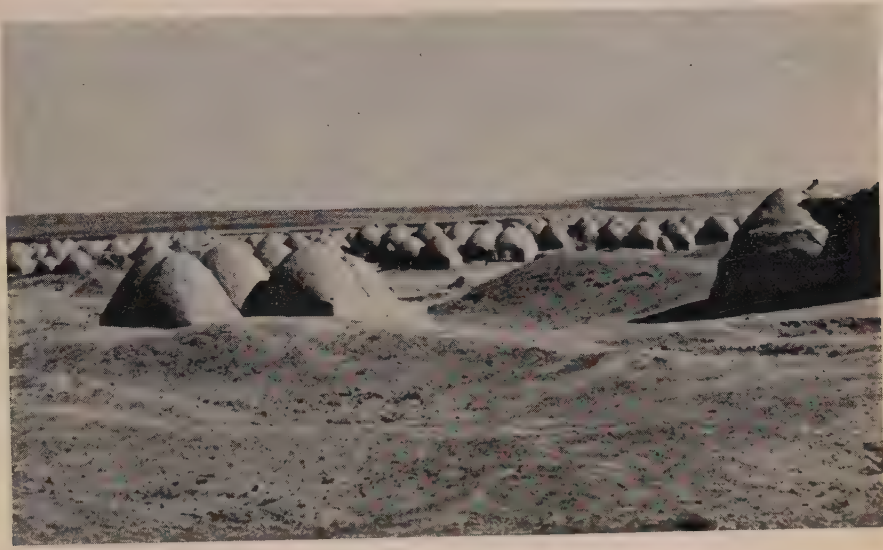

Fig. 1. Village of Arslan Tash with remains of city wall.

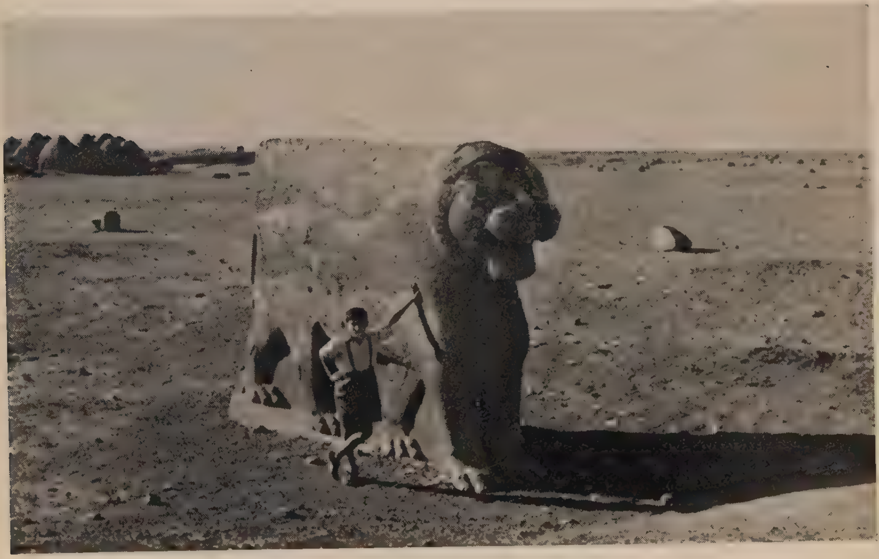

Fig. 2. Lion from Arslan Tash.

CORRESPONDENCE

Ministry of Education and Culture,
Department of Antiquities,
P.O.B.586,
Jerusalem, Israel.

Jerusalem, September 27, 1951

IR,

In your issue of January-April, 1951, which reached me ecently, you published a note on the "Excavations at ericho," which contains among other things the following tatement :

> At the request of the Council of the School, Miss K. M. Kenyon recently paid a short visit to Palestine to report on possibilities. The information obtained by this visit showed that excavations in Jordan are entirely possible, but not in Israel, where wages of unskilled labourers are eight times higher than in Jordan.

I feel sure you will give me an opportunity to correct the misapprehension to which this statement may give rise among readers not familiar with circumstances in Israel.

It is true that wages in Israel are much higher than in the neighbouring countries, for the working people of this country are used to a much higher standard of living.

As against this, however, the Government of Israel is ready to contribute to any foreign archaeological expedition working in Israel the equivalent of the cost of wages for some 2,500-3,000 working days per season, which under present conditions prevailing in archaeological work in the Near East amounts to some 60-70 per cent. of the total wages bill.

All other facilities and exemptions, which were offered to archaeological expeditions prior to the establishment of the State of Israel, are still in force.

I beg to remain, Sir,
Yours very truly,
S. YEIVIN,
Director of Antiquities.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

A New Neolithic Industry—The Yarmukian of Palestine. B
M. Stekelis. Israel Exploration Society. Jerusalem
1951.

This report by Dr. Stekelis summarizes the results o excavations carried out on a site in the triangle formed by th Yarmuk River, the Jordan and the Sea of Galilee. The sit had been exposed in the section of a long anti-tank ditch, an it does not appear to have been extensively excavated Although there were traces of walls in the sections, thes buildings have not been excavated over an extensive area.

The stratigraphy is as follows: 0–0,70 m. stone foundation of rectangular buildings: 0,70–1,10 m. underlying th foundations and containing no archaeological material 2,10–2,20 grey earth with flint and hand-made pottery, an also the remains of Wild Boar, Gazelle, Equus, Bos and Camel Below this is a gravel the bottom of which was not reached this produced implements of Palaeolithic type.

The stratigraphy is taken direct from the report and th apparent loss of a metre between the second and third layer is confusing, though this is probably a misprint. It is th material from the third layer which forms the subject o Stekelis's paper.

The prominent feature of the pattern is the incised designs these consist mainly of herring-bone pottery in zig-zags, and also without the enclosing lines of the larger pattern; the past is a mixture of grit and chopped straw: both loop and knob handles occur. The flint industry has small arrow heads with retouch over the upper face, and others, larger, with retouch at the tip and on the tang only. The sickle blades have coarse denticulation but no retouch on the upper face. A characteristic feature is the presence of axes and celts with part of the edge polished.

This Yarmukian according to Stekelis, forms the middle art of a three fold division of the Palestine Neolithic of which ıe Usbian is the earliest and the Jericho Neolithic (Level IX) ıe latest. This supposition is, of course, based on typological rounds only, there being no superposition.

Before this three fold division can be considered seriously ıe validity of the Usbian must first be examined. The ıaterial from the cave of Abu Usba was published by Stekelis ı 1942. (*Bull. Amer. Schools of Oriental Research.* No. 86, pril, 1942. Page 2.) It consisted of incised pottery and a lint industry which is in part Natufian. The publication of his material produced a strong objection from Professor lbright (*op. cit.*, page 10) who maintained that either the ottery was not Natufian, as Stekelis claimed, and that the naterial was mixed or if it was not mixed then the flints vere later in date than was suggested. The pottery is very eminiscent of the Jerichoan (Jericho Level VIII) and the resence of sickle blades of Jerichoan type appears to support Albright's argument, and in addition, on typological grounds the Natufian material is comparatively early. The suggestion of Albright that the pottery was not Ghassulian and may be slightly earlier than Jericho VIII is reasonable, though his remarks about the flints require some modification.

Following this, Stekelis wrote a further report in the same Bulletin (No. 89, pages 22–24) and in this paper reaffirms his opinion that this is an industry with pottery and Natufian affinities, which in typological grounds precedes the Neolithic of Jericho IX. He makes the rather unwise remark that "Generally speaking, if the flint tools of Abu Usba had been discovered without the accompanying pottery, no one would hesitate to attribute them to a later phase of Natufian culture," which considering the presence of the sickle blades with coarse denticulation would not be the case. Also in his defence of the pottery he does not take into consideration the advance of the Abu Usba pottery technique over that of Jericho IX, nor the presence of the industry without pottery from below Jericho IX. The only conclusion that one can come to is that the material is, in fact, mixed, belonging in part to a pottery complex with affinities to Jericho VIII and in part to the Natufian. It would thus seem that the materi from Abu Usba cannot be considered as forming part of sub-division of the Palestine Neolithic.

We are now left with the Yarmukian and the Neolithic Jericho IX, the former of which Stekelis claims to be th earlier. The first objection to this classification is the mor primitive character of the Jericho material, as well as th pre-pottery levels from this site, also the strong resemblanc of the Yarmukian pottery to Jericho VIII (*A.A.A.*, Vo XXIII, 3–4, Pl. XXXIII) and the sickle blades with coars denticulation also typical of Jericho VIII. The arrowhead in the main seem to fall mid way between those of Jericho I and VIII, and one celt from Level VIII (*A.A.A.*, Vol. XXI 1–2, Pl. VIIb, No. 1) fits perfectly with those from th Yarmukian site.

In view of the similarity of the Yarmukian to Jericho VII and the fact that both the pottery and flints of Jericho IX ar typologically more simple, as well as the presence of th pre-pottery levels at Jericho, suggests that Stekelis's sub division of the Neolithic, Usbian—Yarmukian—Jericho IX is unlikely.

What then is the Yarmukian? It is clearly later than Jericho IX and has affinities with Jericho VIII. The flin industry suggests that it is possibly a little earlier than Jericho VIII and later than Jericho IX, in which case th sequence should read Jericho IX, Yarmukian, Jericho VIII the Usbian being disregarded altogether. It is rather doubtful whether in view of the similarity to Jericho VIII the distinctive name of Yarmukian is justified.

John Waechter.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the ollowing :—

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